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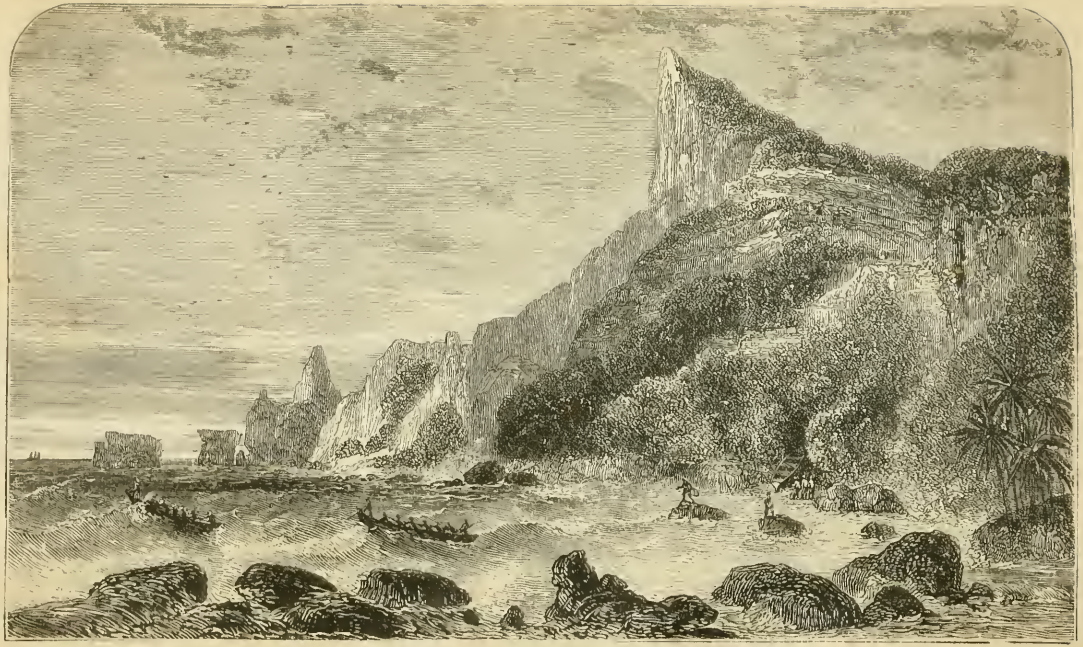

BOUNTY BAY, PITCAIRN ISLAND.

THE

MUTINEERS OF THE BOUNTY

AND THEIR

DESCENDANTS IN

PITCAIRN AND NORFOLK ISLANDS.

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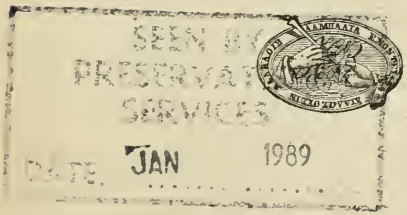
By LADY BELCHER.

WITH MAP AND ILLUSTRATIONS.



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PREFACE.

A PERIOD of thirty-nine years has elapsed since the appearance of a little volume entitled "The Mutiny of the Bounty," which formed one of the series of the "Family Library." The work was favorably received; but did not contain all the information which might have been afforded. It was written by the late Sir John Barrow, then Secretary at the Admiralty, principally from papers which a mutual friend requested might be placed at his disposal by the late Mrs. Heywood, widow of Captain Peter Heywood, R.N., who had been one of the midshipmen in the Bounty.

An accidental circumstance, and the possession of a variety of private documents on the subject, have induced the writer to lay before the public what she ventures to believe will be found to be a more connected and impartial narrative. Many details have come to her knowledge from personal sources and from family manuscripts to which she has had access, in consequence of being the step-daughter of Captain Heywood. Among the documents which she is thus enabled to

publish is the diary of James Morrison, one of the petty officers of the Bounty, and some additional correspondence between Peter Heywood and his relatives.

The principal materials for the history of the descendants of the mutineers during the later years of their residence in Pitcairn Island have been furnished through the kindness of Admiral Sir Fairfax Moresby, K.C.B. From these, and from letters communicated by other friends, the writer is also enabled to give an account of the position and welfare of the Pitcairn colony since its removal to Norfolk Island, and to continue the history down to the present year. Among the letters will be found several of much interest from their worthy pastor, the Rev. G. H. Nobbs, from Captain Wood, R.N., contributed by his brother, the Rev. J. G. Wood, and a variety of others hitherto unpublished.

Many acknowledgments are due to friends for the use of photographs and drawings, and for their valuable suggestions during the progress of this work.

LONDON, *October 21st*, 1870.

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THE MUTINEERS OF THE BOUNTY,

AND THEIR DESCENDANTS

IN PITCAIRN AND NORFOLK ISLANDS.

PART FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

Geographical Researches in the South Seas.—Discovery of Otaheite.—Object of the Commission of the Bounty.—Introductory Notices of her Officers: Lieutenant Bligh.—Fletcher Christian.—George Stewart.—Peter Heywood.

The termination of a long French war by the Treaty of Paris in 1763 was hailed with universal satisfaction. Weary of the toils and burdens of warlike enterprise, men were anxious to turn their minds to the arts of peace, and England was foremost among the nations in a desire to promote the interests of science and commerce. The prosecution of maritime discovery was especially adapted to the genius of her people, and the King, George III., who had just succeeded to the throne, encouraged the equipment of expeditions which had for their object the advancement of geography. He had himself acquired considerable proficiency in this his favorite study, and possessed a large and valuable collection of maps and charts —the best that existed one hundred years ago. They would, however, have formed a singular contrast to those of the present day; not only were the Polar regions left

in blank space, but also the vast and as yet unexplored Southern Ocean.

Some progress had nevertheless been made by Ferdinand Magelhaens (the Portuguese navigator, commonly known as Magellan), who had in 1520 shown the road into the great Southern Ocean by the strait which bears his name. He had also bestowed upon it its present appellation of the Pacific, not so much from its general character, as from his own favorable impressions while sailing calmly over it with the wind abaft the beam. But no further advance was made in this direction until, in the early part of the 17th century, Quiros, the Spanish navigator, promulgated the opinion (which seems to have been generally adopted) that there must be more land in that ocean than appeared marked upon the charts. A desire of proving the truth of such surmises, and the hope of making some valuable commercial discovery, led to a series of expeditions being sent out from Europe, in which England, under the auspices of the then young monarch, took a prominent part.

The first of these was commanded by Commodore Byron, who circumnavigated the globe. Then Wallis, seconded by Carteret, left England in the summer of 1762, and touching at various points on the South American coast, cleared the Strait of Magellan in April of the following year, but was then separated from his companion, Carteret. Pursuing his course in a north-westerly direction, he discovered several small islands; assigned names to them; and unexpectedly arrived at Otaheite, unknown until that period, but which was destined to form an important scene in the history about to be narrated. Some little delay, arising mostly from foggy weather, prevented Wallis from finding an anchorage at this island until the day after his arrival, when our navigator was surprised at the number and large size of the canoes by which his ship,

the Dolphin, was surrounded. Her arrival at Otaheite occasioned much astonishment among the islanders, from the simple circumstance that she was the realization of the prophecy of one of their sages. This person had foretold that in some future age "a canoe without out-riggers would come to their shores." These appendages, it is well known, are essential to keeping the canoes upright when pressed over by the sail. Here, then, was a fulfillment of this prophecy before them; still it was not until after the hostility of these natives had been checked by the ship's artillery that overtures of peace were exchanged, and traffic was happily established between them and the Dolphin. Matters being arranged, Captain Wallis then landed, and with great state and ceremony took possession of the island for his sovereign, changing its name to "King George's Island," while for "Maatavaye Bay," in which the ship was lying, he substituted "Port Royal." These names, however, were soon to be replaced by those originally given by the natives. After discovering some few other small islands, the Dolphin with Captain Wallis returned to the Downs in May, 1768.

Meanwhile, Captain Carteret, in the Swallow, which had been separated from the Dolphin by stress of weather at the western entrance of Magellan Strait, had pursued his course to the northward. The Swallow thus discovered the little island of Mas-a-fuera, where she obtained water. From thence Captain Carteret looked unsuccessfully for Easter Island, far away in the west, but soon afterwards unexpectedly observed what appeared to him as a great rock rising out of the sea. To this rock he gave the name of Pitcairn, little dreaming how interesting it was to become in subsequent maritime history. We need not follow Carteret farther, observing only that he arrived at Spithead in March, 1769.

Captain Cook, on his three voyages of discovery, visited Otaheite* on four different occasions, and he confirmed, on his return to England, all that Wallis had stated concerning the beauty and fertility of the island, as also the gentle and amiable character of its inhabitants. The bread-fruit tree had also especially attracted his attention as a staple article of food, inasmuch as it was very productive and continued in bearing for eight months in the year.

Little notice was then taken of his observations on the subject of the bread-fruit, but seventeen years afterwards, the idea occurred to some of our West Indian merchants that it might prove a valuable addition to the food of the negroes on their plantations.† The desirability of attempting to introduce these trees into the West Indies was suggested to the Government, and the enterprise received from the king the patronage and encouragement it deserved.

Instructions were accordingly issued to Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Banks,‡—who, having sailed with Captain Cook

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* It may here be observed that the name he gave it originated in a misconception, for the letter "O" in the native dialect is equivalent to the English word "of." Thus, when any of the islanders was asked to what place he belonged, he would reply, "O'Tahiti," *i. e.*, "of Tahiti." This was explained in the vocabulary of the Tahitian language written by Peter Heywood, and presented by him to the Missionary Society in 1792.

† The bread-fruit tree is a native of the tropics, and although we have a few specimens of it, it is with difficulty kept alive by artificial heat in England. The tree grows to the height of thirty or forty feet, and its leaves are so large that the natives of the Molucca Islands use them as table-cloths. The fruit is of the size of a small melon, and constantly in season. Its flavor is said to be like that of the potato, but Captain Cook said it was "insipid, with a slight sweetness, something resembling crumb of bread mixed with Jerusalem artichoke." The tree is valuable for many other purposes, and good cloth is manufactured from the inner bark. For further information, see Sir W. Hooker's account, "Botanical Magazine," with three plates, vol. lv., pp. 2869–71.

‡ The well-known President of the Royal Society, and a munificent patron of men of learning and science.

on his first voyage, knew Tahiti—to purchase a small vessel adapted for the purpose. He selected one of 215 tons burden, and appropriately named her the Bounty. Her complement of officers and men consisted of forty-five persons.

Lieutenant William Bligh, R.N., who was appointed to the command of this expedition, belonged to a Cornish family resident at Tinten (a duchy estate in the parish of St. Tudy, near Bodmin), and was born in 1753. He married the daughter of William Betham, Esq., first collector of customs in the Isle of Man, after the Duke of Athole had sold his manorial rights to the British Government. Possessing considerable nautical ability, Lieutenant Bligh served for four years with Captain Cook, as sailing-master of the Resolution, and in that capacity visited Tahiti and the adjacent islands. The knowledge he had thus acquired led to his being recommended by Sir Joseph Banks to the command of the Bounty, and his wife's connection with the Isle of Man probably influenced him in the selection of Fletcher Christian as mate, and Peter Heywood as midshipman of that vessel; Christian he had previously known as a good navigator and active officer. There were four other midshipmen appointed—Edward Young, nephew of Sir George Young, Bart., George Stewart, Thomas Heyward, and John Hallet.

Fletcher Christian, mate of the Bounty, was born in 1763, and was fourth son of Charles Christian, Esq., of Mairlandclere, in Cumberland.* His family were the descendants of a William M'Christian, who in 1422 was enrolled as a member of the Manx Parliament (or House of Keys), and several relatives of that name have since held the same honorable appointment, as well as that of Deemster, or Chief-justice. On his appointment to the Bounty,

* Some part of the family subsequently removed to Douglas, Isle of Man.

he was not more than twenty-four years of age, and he had twice sailed with Lieutenant Bligh. His brother Edward became professor of law at Cambridge, Chief-justice of Ely, and well known as the editor of "Blackstone's Commentaries." The family was nearly connected with the Christian Curwens of Cumberland, and one of them was for many years member of Parliament for the county.

The parents of George Stewart (another of the midshipmen) were descended from two different branches of the family of that name. His father's family dates back to 1400, and his mother's ancestors claimed their descent from the half-brother of Queen Mary Stuart, to whom she gave possession of the Orkney and Shetland Islands, and whose successors were created earls by James VI. of Scotland. The following extract is from an interesting letter, dated the 1st of April, 1869, addressed to the authoress of this volume by Mrs. Barry, the aged sister of George Stewart, then in her ninety-second year. She was the widow of a clergyman, and resided in Edinburgh.*

"My father, living on his property in the island of Ronaldsay, Orkneys (where he was born, and where he was married), finding that his family could not enjoy the benefit of being sent to school, moved thence to the town of Stromness, where he built a house. The port was much frequented by shipping, having a very commodious har-

* She died since, on the 20th of May, 1870, aged 92, and was one of the last contemporaries of the history of the Bounty. The following notice appeared in the "United Service Gazette," June 18th, 1870:

"There died recently in Edinburgh, at a very advanced age, Mrs. Barry, widow of the late Rev. J. Barry, formerly minister of Shapinshay, Orkney. This venerable lady was the sister of Midshipman Stewart, of the Bounty, who perished eighty years ago in the Pandora, when she was wrecked off the north-east coast of New Holland, on her way to England. To those who have read 'The Island' of Lord Byron, the character of the bold and daring young Arcadian (Midshipman Stewart) will be familiar."

bor, where homeward and outward bound vessels frequently ran in for shelter. Captain Cook, who was on a voyage of discovery, put into that harbor. My father became acquainted with him and some of his officers; among others with Bligh, who consequently knew my eldest brother. Bligh may possibly have understood that George was inclined to go to sea, and may have said that if he could be of any use in furthering his views he would do so; but whether or not the Bounty was the first ship George sailed in I do not know, but, poor fellow, it was his last.* His two brothers, who were fine handsome youths, went to the West Indies, where they managed estates, and after being several years there one died of fever. The youngest came home for a few months, but returned to lay his bones in Trinidad, where he had had the management of the estates of Lord Cochrane. My father did not live to see any of them again; he died in 1790. My mother only saw her youngest son before she died."

Peter Heywood, the youngest midshipman in the Bounty, belonged to one of those families whose ancestors came to England in the retinues of the great Norman barons. Piers Eywode, or Aiwode, obtained a grant of land in Lancashire, near the present town of Heywood. This grant was made by Adelm Fitzadelm, son-in-law of the Conqueror, and the Eywodes appear to have remained in uninterrupted succession on this estate until the sixteenth century. A branch of the family then followed the earl

* Mrs. Barry, being the youngest child of a numerous family, had little recollection of her eldest brother, George Stewart, who went to sea at sixteen years of age, and joined the Bounty when twenty-one. In his narrative, Lieutenant Bligh speaks of Stewart as follows: "Stewart was a young man of creditable parents in the Orkneys, at which place, on the return of the Resolution from the South Seas in 1780, we received so many civilities, that on that account only I would gladly have taken him with me, but independent of this recommendation, he was a seaman, and had always borne a good character."

of Derby to the Isle of Man, where an Eywode became governor of the island, and several of his descendants held important offices. They came into possession of the Nunnery Estate through their connection with the old family of the Caldecotes. A Captain Caldecote married Margaret Goodman, last prioress of the nunnery near Douglas, who considered herself released from her vows by the dissolution of religious houses at the Reformation. She obtained a grant of the convent and estate of the nunnery, and the last descendant of that union being a female and the heiress, married Hugh Connell, Attorney-general, whose only daughter married the great-grandfather of the subject of this notice, and the nunnery thus passed into the Heywood family.

Notwithstanding a connection with the famous regicide, Colonel Fleetwood, the politics of the Heywoods seem to have been strictly loyal, and a brother of Mr. Heywood, of Heywood Hall, took an active part in the arrest of Guy Fawkes, and secured the conspirator's lantern. He presented it as a trophy to the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, where it is still to be seen, with a Latin inscription recording the event. The fate of this relative is described in an epitaph on a monument in the church of St. Anne and St. Agnes, in Aldersgate Street, beneath which are deposited the remains of a descendant, and probably his own:*

"Peter Heiwood, that deceased Nov. 22, 1701, youngest son of Peter Heiwood, one of the chancellors of Jamaica, by Grace, daughter of John Muddeford, Kt. and Bart., great-grandson of Peter Heiwood, County Palatine of Lancashire, who apprehended Guy Fawkes, with his dark lantern, and for his zealous prosecution of the papists, as Justice of the Peace, was stabbed in Westminster Hall, by John James, a Dominican friar, Anno Dom. 1640.

"Reader, if not a Papist bred,
Upon these ashes lightly tread."

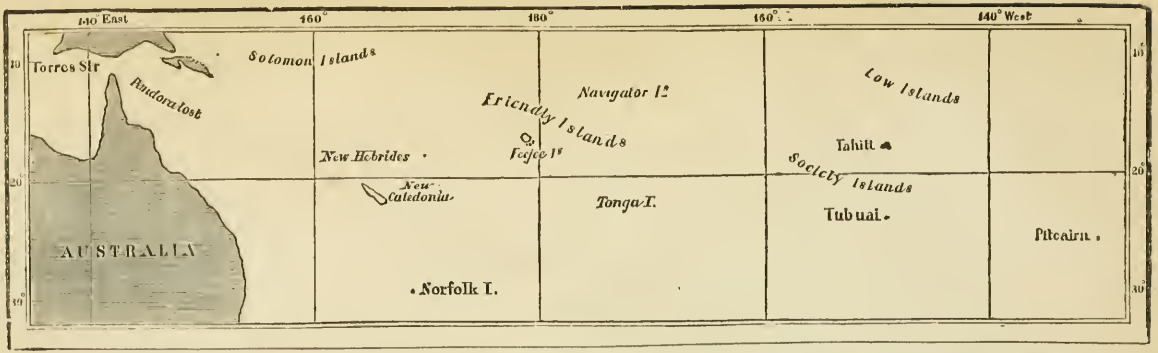
* Houghton's "London," vol. iii., p. 93.

Peter John Heywood, a Deemster of the Isle of Man, married Elizabeth, only child by a first marriage of Mr. Spedding, of Summer Grove, near Whitehaven, Cumberland; and among the younger children of her numerous family was Peter, born at the Nunnery, June 6th, 1773. As the boy grew up, his intelligence and gentle disposition made him the idol of all the members of his family, especially of his sister Nessy, who was six years his senior, and became his early favorite and preceptress. He passed his first and happiest years at the Nunnery and at Douglas, and there first imbibed his predilection for maritime pursuits and studies. In his eleventh year Peter was sent to school at Nantwich, in Cheshire, and always spoke gratefully of the instruction he received from the Rev. Mr. Hunter, to whose care he was confided. When sufficiently advanced he was removed to St. Bees, where his career of study was very brief, in consequence of what was considered a favorable opportunity occurring to gratify the boy's ardent aspiration for the naval service. Lieutenant Bligh when in the Isle of Man visited at the Nunnery, and on being appointed to the command of the Bounty wrote to Deemster Heywood, offering to take his son. The appointment was secured at the Admiralty through the influence of a relative, Mr. Heywood, of Maristow, in Devonshire.

In the summer of the year 1787, just as he had completed his fourteenth year, Peter Heywood left the Isle of Man to join Lieutenant Bligh at Deptford. To his mother and sisters a voyage to the South Seas appeared most formidable; but the prospect of placing him under the care of a friend softened the pain of parting, as a proposal had been accepted to the effect that he should reside with Lieutenant and Mrs. Bligh until the Bounty sailed. His mother's last adieux and blessings were accompanied by

the gift of a Bible and Prayer-Book; the latter being the only solace destined to remain in his possession during many months of trial and adversity. Peter's father accompanied him from Douglas to Liverpool, where an arrangement was made that he should travel post with two friends of Mr. Heywood, who were going up to London; and as an illustration of the dangers of the road eighty-three years since, it may be observed that these gentlemen were provided each with a pair of pistols duly primed and placed in the pocket of the chaise. The father and son then took what was to be a final leave of one another, as Mr. Heywood died before any intelligence of the Bounty reached England. His parting gift was his own watch, containing a portrait—in enamel set with brilliants—of Peter's mother, which (as Captain Heywood used in after years to say) was taken from him on his arrival at Deptford by "a very gentlemanly young man."

GENERAL CHART.



NORFOLK ISLAND

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KINGSTON (Norfolk I.)

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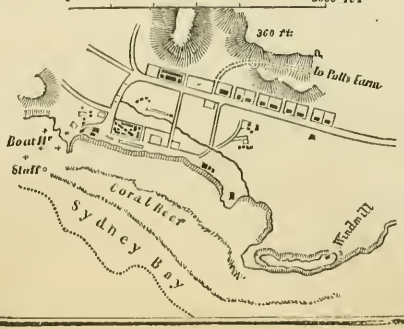
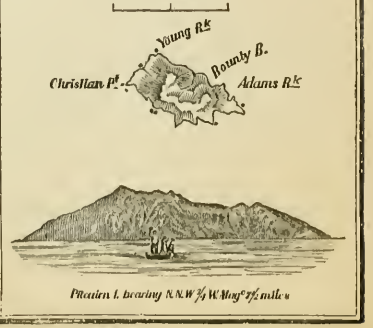


PITCAIRN ISLAND

Two Miles



Pitcairn I. bearing N.N.W.¾W. Magc 2½ miles

CHAPTER II.

Departure of the Bounty.—Voyage.—Arrival at Tahiti, and sailing from thence to the West Indies.

The Bounty was commissioned and fitted out at Deptford. She was ship-rigged, and in these days would have appeared a quaint, unwieldy vessel, having been built for the merchant service, in which capacity for stowage is generally considered of more importance than sailing qualities. Her size, 215 tons, was by no means large for so distant a voyage, and as her internal fittings were prepared for the reception of young bread-fruit trees, there remained but indifferent accommodation for the officers and crew. This was, however, a minor consideration to young and buoyant spirits, full of ardor for the expedition, and eager to visit the beautiful islands recently discovered by Wallis,* and enthusiastically described by Cook.

But high-wrought expectations are seldom realized. Even before the Bounty was ready for sea, symptoms of discontent began to manifest themselves among the crew. Lieutenant Bligh was charged with the duties of purser, as well as those of commander of the ship; an arrangement which, although the rule of the naval service at that time, was attended with many disadvantages. Such a combination was especially unfortunate in the case of Lieutenant Bligh, who, besides being of an irritable and passionate disposition, was of a most suspicious turn of mind. The language he indulged in, both to officers and

* The Society Islands were first discovered by Captain Wallis, in 1767.

men, was so harsh and offensive as to be exceptional, even at a period when it was deemed that discipline could not be maintained without the use of opprobrious and profane epithets. During the fitting out, he often accused the men of purloining the ship's stores, thus occasioning resentful feelings in the minds of many, and rendering himself generally unpopular.

On a dull, cold morning (the 9th of October, 1787), the fitting out of the Bounty was completed, and, leaving the dock at Deptford, she dropped down our great water highway to Long Reach. She departed, as thousands of ships had before, and thousands have since, accompanied by the hearty English cheer of "God speed," which gladdens the heart of the mariner; and followed, no doubt, by many a prayer for the safety and success of the outward bound. Who, among the assembled spectators, could have dreamed of the strange fate which awaited her, or of the perils and singular adventures even of those of her officers and crew who were destined to return to the shores of England!

At Long Reach the vessel remained a few days, and then left for Spithead, where she anchored on the 4th November. Before proceeding farther, it may be well to mention that among the papers relative to the Bounty which are in the possession of the authoress of this little volume, there is a journal kept by James Morrison, one of the petty officers of the Bounty. It appears from this diary that Morrison possessed literary attainments far beyond the generality of seamen of his time. As being the production of an eye-witness on board the vessel, and giving a fair general view of the proceedings, with some important remarks touching the relative positions of her officers and men, it is here adopted in the absence of all other information concerning her outward voyage to Tahiti. James Morrison thus commences his diary:

"1787.—After several ineffectual attempts to put to sea, in one of which some of our sails were carried away, we sailed on the 23d of December, with a strong easterly gale, which by the 27th soon increased to a heavy one, in which we sustained some damage; the vessel also shipped a sea which injured the boat, and tore all the planks from the large cutter's stern. Another sea stove in a part of the Bounty's stern between the dead-lights, but did little other damage, except breaking an azimuth compass, and wetting a few bags of bread in the cabin. The breach in the stern was soon secured, and the ship hove to the wind, as it had become dangerous to scud.

"When the weather moderated, we made sail. The carpenter repaired the boat and other damages. We met with no other accident, or any thing material, till the 5th of January, 1788, when we made the Island of Teneriffe, and anchored in the roads of Santa Cruz on the 6th. Here we completed our water, and took on board some wine for the ship's use, and several casks for gentlemen in England and the West Indies, four quarters of miserable beef, a few pumpkins, and a goat and kid (which died soon after); these being all the supplies we received. As to the beef, it was for the most part thrown overboard by the men, who had not yet sufficient appetite to eat what they supposed to be 'the flesh of a donkey or mule.'

"On the 14th of January we left Santa Cruz, and stood to the s.w. with a fine breeze and pleasant weather. The ship's company were now distributed in three watches, and Mr. F. Christian appointed to act as lieutenant, by order of Lieutenant Bligh, which order was read to the ship's company. Mr. Bligh then informed them that, as the length of the voyage was uncertain, and as it was doubtful whether we should be able to get round Cape Horn (the season being so far advanced), it became necessary to be careful of the provisions (particularly bread), that they might hold out. He therefore ordered the allowance of bread to be reduced to two-thirds, which was cheerfully

received, and the stock of bread being thus reserved, grog was served out instead.

"The weather still continuing fine, a few days afterwards the cheeses were brought up to air, when, on opening the casks, two were missed by Mr. Bligh, who declared that they had been stolen. The cooper stated that the cask had been opened while the ship was in the river, and the cheeses ordered to be taken on shore. Mr. Bligh, without making any further inquiry into the matter, ordered the allowance of cheese to be stopped from officers and men till the deficiency should be made good, and told the cooper he would give him a good flogging if he said any more about it. These orders were strictly obeyed by Mr. Samuel, who was both clerk and steward, and on the next banyan-day* butter only was issued. This the seamen refused, alleging that their acceptance of the butter without cheese would be tacitly acknowledging the supposed theft; and John Williams declared that he had carried the cheeses to Mr. Bligh's house, with a cask of vinegar, and some other things which went up in the boat from Long Reach.

"As the ship approached the equator, the pumpkins began to spoil, and, being generally too large for the cabin use, they were issued to the ship's company in lieu of bread. The crew, being desirous of knowing at what rate the exchange was to be, inquired of Mr. Samuel, the steward, who informed them that they were to have one pound of pumpkins instead of two pounds of bread. This was refused by the men, and, on Mr. Bligh being informed of it, he came on deck in a violent passion, and called all hands, telling Mr. Samuel to summon the first man of every mess, and let him see who would dare to refuse it, or any thing else that he should order to be served; adding, 'I'll make you eat grass, or any thing you can catch, before I have done with you.' The order being thus enforced, every one took the pumpkins, officers not

* An Indian term for a fast-day.

excepted; yet, having a good private stock of potatoes laid in at Spithead, they did not immediately feel the effects of such a reduction of their bread. As the pumpkins were always served at one pound per man, it was frequently thrown together by the seamen, and the cooks of the different messes drew lots for the whole. The pumpkins were issued every other day, till expended. In all probability the grievance would have ended there, but private stock began to decrease also, and the beef and pork to appear very light; and as these had never yet been weighed when opened, it was supposed that the casks were short of their weight; for which reason, the people applied to the master, and begged that he would examine into the affair and procure them redress.

"The master making this complaint known to Mr. Bligh, he ordered all hands aft, and informed them that every thing relative to the provisions was transacted by *his orders.* It was, therefore, needless for them to make any complaint; they would obtain no redress, as *he* was the fittest judge of what was right or wrong. He added that he would flog the first man severely who should dare to make any complaint in future, and dismissed them with severe threats.

"The seamen, seeing that no redress could be had before the end of the voyage, determined to bear it with patience, and neither murmured nor complained afterwards. However, the officers were not so easily satisfied; they frequently murmured among themselves about the smallness of their allowance, and could not be reconciled to such unfair proceedings. But they made no open complaint, perceiving that the men were silent on the subject. Whenever a cask was broached, they saw with regret all the prime pieces taken out for the cabin table, while they were forced to take their chance of what remained in common with the men; without the satisfaction of knowing whether they had their weight or not, being obliged to take it as marked. This circumstance, while it increased their distress, and excited angry feelings towards the au-

thor of it in private, helped to reconcile the men, as they saw that all shared alike. Nor were they, as the sea-phrase expresses it, able or calculated to 'stand the wrangle in the gale,' about their peas and oatmeal, which were served to them in very sparing quantities — so sparing, that there was never any of either left for the pigs, which must have been starved, but for bread, and Indian corn purchased for the poultry.

"The usual allowance of peas was seven quarts for the whole complement, of which none failed to partake; and of oatmeal, nine quarts each banyan-day. With the peas were frequently boiled four cakes of portable beef broth; and some sour-krout (salted cabbage). The butter and cheese being expended, oil and sugar were served instead, in the proportion of half a gill of oil and one ounce of sugar per man each banyan-day.

"Near the line we had heavy rain, and filled several casks of water, both for ourselves and stock; and carried a fair wind and fair weather (except at intervals) with us till we made Terra del Fuego on the 23d of March. The weather being fine, we were all in high spirits, and hoped soon to get round the Cape.

"1788. *March 23d.*—One of the sheep dying this morning, Lieutenant Bligh ordered it to be issued in lieu of the day's allowance of pork and peas, declaring that it would make a delicious meal, and that it weighed upwards of fifty pounds. It was divided, but most part of it thrown overboard, and some dried shark supplied its place for a Sunday's dinner, for it was nothing but skin and bone.

"The day continued fine, and we stood along the land, crossing the Strait of Le Maire. As soon as we were clear of Staten Land, it set in bad weather. We got the top-gallant masts down, and made every thing ready for it. The appearance of the country is rugged and barren. We saw here vast numbers of seals, penguins, shags, and white and black albatrosses—some of the white we caught, which made an excellent meal. Some of them measured upwards of eight feet from tip to tip of their wings. The

black ones we called *padres*, but never caught any of them. We tried for fish, but without success.

"The weather becoming very sharp as we stood to the southward, the people requested that they might have their rum without water. This was readily agreed to, as the water was saved by it, and the allowance of water was now reduced to three pints per day. This allowance, in such weather as we had, was more than sufficient, for we had no method of using it otherwise than as drink, and this indulgence was not lost on the seamen, whose spirits seemed to have an additional flow from it. They thought nothing of hardship, and, notwithstanding fatigue and increasing bad weather, they carried on the duty with alacrity and cheerfulness, anticipating the pleasure and profit they hoped to reap by the success of the voyage.

"Wheat and barley were now boiled every morning for breakfast instead of burgoo, but the quantity was so small that it was no uncommon thing for four men in a mess to draw lots for the breakfast, and to divide their bread by the well-known method of 'Who shall have this?'

"The quantity of wheat boiled was one gallon for forty-four men, of which they all partook, and of barley two pounds for the like number. The division of this scanty allowance caused frequent broils in the galley, and in the present bad weather they were sometimes attended with serious consequences. In one of these disputes the cook, Thomas Hall, got two of his ribs broken; and at another time Charles Churchill's hand was scalded; and it became at last necessary to have the master's mate of the watch to superintend the division of the food. The weather continued to grow worse daily; hail, rain, sleet, and snow—or rather large flakes of half-formed ice—alternately following each other in heavy squalls, which often reduced us to bare poles and battened hatches, as the sea made fair breaches over us. The surgeon and three men were very much injured by being thrown into the cockpit, as the vessel rolled so terribly. Yet, notwithstanding the severity and inclemency of the season, the continued gales

and repeated squalls, such was the alacrity and carefulness of officers and men that we never lost a spar or a yard of canvas, though frequently forced to take the sails in after loosing them, before the tacks could be hauled on board or the sheets aft.

"Sweetwort was now made from malt, and a pint a man served hot every day, which was very acceptable and nourishing in our present condition. But the intense cold, and being continually wet, the hard duty and continual fatigue, the rigorous season, together with the uncomfortable condition of the men between decks (always filled with smoke), and the hatches battened down, soon began to attack our constitutions, and several fell sick. The straining of the ship (though perfectly sound), and the hammocks being always wet, made it very uncomfortable not only for the sick but also for those in health.

"As the people began to fall sick the duty became heavier on those who were well, but was still carried on with alacrity and spirit; and the behavior of the seamen in this trying situation was such as merited the entire approbation of the officers, and Mr. Bligh's public thanks.

"After a fatiguing and ineffectual trial, it was found that the passage round Cape Horn was not practicable at this season of the year. Though we had reached the 62d degree of S. latitude and 79th of W. longitude, yet we found that we lost ground, although the ship was an excellent sea-boat.

"On the 18th of April Mr. Bligh ordered the hands aft, and after returning them his thanks for their unremitting attention to their duty, informed them of his intention to bear away for the Cape of Good Hope, as it appeared to him an impossibility to get round Cape Horn. This was received with great joy, and the ship was instantly put before the wind.

"In the evening the wind veered to the north-west, which induced Lieutenant Bligh to haul up on the starboard tack and try again to get round Cape Horn, although we had run nearly 120 miles to the eastward.

But these flattering appearances soon vanished, for the wind shifted again to the west and blew with redoubled fury, and we again bore away on the 22d for the Cape of Good Hope.

"After we bore away, the hatches were opened, which till now had almost constantly been battened down. By airing and drying the ship between decks the sick recovered fast, and the more so as we got into a more temperate climate. We could not find the Isles of Tristan d'Acunha according to their situation on the chart, though we hove to part of a night for that purpose.

"*May.*—We made the Cape on the 23d of May, and anchored in Table Bay on the 25th. Here we found several Dutch and French ships, and soon after the Hon. East India Company's ship Dublin arrived and watered here.

"Fresh provisions were now procured, with soft bread and wine for present use.

"The seine was hauled with various success, and we caught several fine fish with hook and line, called Romans and Hottentots, and a few seals on Seal Island, where these animals resort in great numbers and bask in the sun. As the island is an entire rock, it affords shelter for no animals but the seals and sea-fowl, with which it abounds.

"While we remained in Simon's Bay the ship was refitted, the rigging overhauled, and the sails repaired. The armorer set to work to make new hinges for the weather-boards, which had been washed away. The carpenter and his mates, with two Dutch caulkers, caulked the sides. We painted the ship and refitted the weather-boards.

"Every thing being completed as regarded supplies and all damages repaired by the 1st of July, we sailed, and stood to the eastward with a fine breeze. As we edged to the southward the wind increased to a fresh gale, which continued with little alteration. We passed close by St. Paul, a high and barren island, with but very few trees and shrubs; but this was the middle of winter, and a heavy gale coming on prevented any further examination. We arrived at Adventure Bay, in New Holland,

without any material accident, on the 2d or 3d of September, where we wooded and watered, and sailed about the middle of the same month for Tahiti.

"While we were at Adventure Bay, bread was served out at full allowance, and water-gruel boiled for breakfast; but, as we put to sea, we returned to the former short allowance, and here also were sown the seeds of eternal discord between Lieutenant Bligh and some of his officers, whom he accused of inattention to their duties, which was a cause of great annoyance. He also put the carpenter in confinement.

"Soon after we sailed a group of small islands to the eastward of New Zealand were discovered, which were called the Bounty Islands.

"*October.*—Some symptoms of scurvy made their appearance, and weakness and debility began to be observed throughout the ship's company; but essence of malt was given to those who appeared worst, salt provisions were stopped, and flour substituted.

"During the passage Mr. Bligh and his messmates, the master and the surgeon, fell out and separated, each taking his part of the stock and retiring to live in his own cabin. Afterwards they had several disputes, and seldom spoke to each other except on duty, and even then with much apparent reserve. Previous to making Tahiti, a dispute happened between Mr. Bligh and Mr. Fryer, the master, relative to signing some books, which the master had refused to sign for reasons best known to himself. Upon this, all hands were called on deck, the Articles of War read and some part of the printed instructions, after which the books and papers were produced, with a pen and ink, and Mr. Bligh said, 'Now, sir, sign these books.' The master took the pen, saying, 'I sign in obedience to your orders, but this may be cancelled hereafter.' The books were signed, and the people dismissed to their duties.

"On the 21st of October we made the Island of Maytea (or Osnaburgh Island), and stood close in with it, when several of the natives came down on the rocks waving

large pieces of white cloth, but none attempted to come off. In the afternoon we bore away for Tahiti; made it about 5 P.M., bearing N.W.; at 8 o'clock hove to; and at 4 in the morning of the 25th of October, 1788, made sail and anchored at 10 A.M. in Port Royal (or Maatavaye) Bay.

"As soon as the ship was anchored, a tent pitched on shore, and the necessary arrangements made for supplies of provisions, the natives brought off plenty of cocoa-nuts, the milk of which contributed to the recovery of the sick. Ample supplies of fresh provisions and vegetables strengthened the whole of the ship's company, who had suffered much from the hardships of the voyage. At the beginning of November the botanist and his assistant went on shore to reside, and to commence collecting and potting young bread-fruit trees. During this period the crew were busily employed curing and salting provisions for the voyage to the West Indies.

"For a time provisions were plentiful, but, as the supplies fell off, Lieutenant Bligh seized every thing that came on board, taking all for his own property, and serving them to the men as the ship's allowance at the rate of one pound per man per day. He also seized the pigs belonging to the master, although he had more than forty of his own on board. When the master spoke to him, telling him the pigs were his property, Lieutenant Bligh answered that every thing was his as soon as it came on board; that he would take nine-tenths of any man's property, and let them beware of saying any thing to the contrary. The natives, observing that the commander seized every thing as it came on board, began to fear that he might take the provisions from the crew without payment. They took every opportunity, therefore, when he was on shore, of bringing off supplies to their friends on board. Lieutenant Bligh, observing these proceedings, ordered a book to be kept in the binnacle, in which the mate of the watch was to insert the number of all articles of provision that came on board; also the weight. His vigilance, however, was evaded by the natives, who resorted

to all sorts of artifices so successfully that the sailors had ample supplies.

"The cabin was now fitted to receive the young plants, which were being rapidly collected and all in a very healthy state, when an incident occurred which might have cost Lieutenant Bligh his life. Three of the sailors went on shore in the cutter without leave, and unobserved by Mr. Thomas Hayward, the mate of the morning watch, who was supposed to be asleep. Three weeks elapsed before the men were discovered and brought back to the ship, and certainly they merited punishment. They were put in irons for a month, and then were punished; Churchill receiving two dozen lashes, the others four dozen each. Mr. Thomas Hayward, who had also been in irons for a month, was not flogged, as Bligh had intended, but, deservedly, severely reprimanded, and then returned to duty.

"A short time after, two strands of the small-bower cable were observed to have been cut at the water's edge; which, as the cable hung under the bottom, was not observed till a squall from the westward brought it to bear ahead, when we hove it in and spliced it before the wind became sufficiently strong to part it. As the buoy had also been cut away and sunk, it was supposed the natives were the authors of the mischief, in order that they might be paid for diving after it. For the time being the secret was kept strictly, but afterwards one of the chiefs, the friend of Mr. Thomas Hayward, said that the bower cable had been cut and the buoy sunk by his order, that the ship might go on shore and Mr. Bligh fall into his hands; and had Hayward received a single lash he would at once have shot Bligh, having secreted a pistol and standing close to him on deck when the prisoners were brought up for punishment.

"Another man, a native, had committed a robbery on board, and, among other things, carried off a compass. The man was caught, ordered one hundred lashes, and put into irons; but with wonderful ingenuity he contrived to make

his escape, when Lieutenant Bligh went on shore and accused Christian—who was on guard with the party at the tent—of not keeping a good look-out, but he said that the weather had been so stormy and the night so dark that it was impossible to see any one who might land. The sentry on deck had heard a plunge overboard, but could see nothing, owing to the tempestuous state of the weather.

"Towards the end of March, 1789, the botanist and his assistants had collected upwards of one thousand bread-fruit plants, besides other trees which he considered valuable.

"On the 1st of April they were all safely stowed away on board, together with numbers of pigs, vegetables, fowls, etc., besides a quantity of fresh plantains for sea stock. All, however, were ordered aft—the cocoa-nuts and what live-stock the lieutenant chose to select; and on the 4th of April we bade farewell to the Society Islands. The plantains were ordered to be served out, one pound weight to each man, in lieu of bread; and when they were expended, a similar quantity of yams or taro-root until we reached Annamooka, one of the eastern range of the Friendly Islands, where we arrived on the 23d of April. Here we remained some days to lay in wood and water. The natives were very troublesome, attempting to steal the casks or any article they could appropriate. In vain muskets were fired at them with the view of intimidation; they only pointed their spears in turn, and raised their clubs in a formidable manner; but, according to Lieutenant Bligh's order, they were not to be interfered with or offended. Mr. Christian, finding it impossible to carry on the duty, informed Mr. Bligh of the circumstances, who, making use of some very strong language, called him 'a cowardly rascal,' and added, 'Are you afraid of a set of savages while you have arms?' To this speech Mr. Christian quietly replied, 'The arms are of no avail, sir, while you prohibit their use.' With some difficulty, and after making presents to the chiefs, who would give nothing without an equivalent, the necessary

amount of wood and water was collected; also a number of yams and cocoa-nuts, both of which, in that island, are the largest in the world.

"On the 26th," continues the journal, "we set sail, the wind being light. We made but little way during the night, and next morning, the 27th, the wind continuing in the same quarter, we altered our position very little, being within seven or eight leagues of the Island of Tofoa all day. In the afternoon Mr. Bligh came up on the quarter-deck, and missing some of the cocoa-nuts which were piled up between the guns, said they had been stolen, and that it must have been with the knowledge and connivance of the officers. They were all called up, and declared they had not seen any man touch them; to which Lieutenant Bligh replied, 'Then you have taken them yourselves,' and ordered Elphinstone, the master's mate, to go down and bring up every cocoa-nut in the ship, which he did. They were very numerous, as the sailors had made large purchases on their own account. He then questioned each officer as to the number he had bought, and going up to Christian, asked him to state the number in his possession. 'I really do not know, sir,' Mr. Christian replied, 'but I hope you do not think me so mean as to be guilty of stealing yours.' 'Yes,' said Bligh, 'you —— hound, I do think so. You must have stolen them from me, or you could have given a better account of them. You —— rascals, you are all thieves alike, and combine with the men to rob me. You will steal my yams next. I will flog you, and make you jump overboard before we reach Endeavor Straits.'

"He then called Mr. Samuel, his clerk, ordered him to stop the grog, and only give half a pound of yams to each person the next day, or a quarter of a pound only if any were missed. All the cocoa-nuts were then carried aft, and the lieutenant went below.

"Some of the officers were heard to murmur and complain of such treatment; but Mr. Christian said nothing, and went to his cabin. In the evening Lieutenant Bligh

sent him an invitation to sup with him, which he declined, alleging in excuse that he was not well."

Thus ended this miserable day, with its mean and trivial occurrences. Had they not been preceded by a long series of irritating proceedings, they would not have been deemed worthy of remark, and could only have been considered as painful exhibitions of a suspicious and jealous temper. But on this occasion Lieutenant Bligh had made the most unwarrantable accusations of falsehood and theft—serious imputations on the character of a gentleman, and especially galling and humiliating to an officer who stood next in command of the vessel. Occurrences such as these contributed their evil consequences in producing that grave and deplorable event which forms the principal subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER III.

The Mutiny.—Dismissal of Lieutenant Bligh.—Fletcher Christian in Command.—The Bounty sails for the Island of Toubouai.—Dissensions.—Return to Tahiti.—Departure of Fletcher Christian with eight Englishmen and some Tahitian Men and Women.

THE golden hue of sunset had faded from the western sky, and as night drew on the light breeze which had prevailed died away. Not a zephyr disturbed the serenity of the scene; the heavens were gemmed with brilliant constellations unknown in our hemisphere, and among them shone conspicuously the Southern Cross—meet emblem of that faith which teaches good-will to all men. A flood of moonlight illumined the sails of the Bounty, as they flapped idly against the mast, and her dark hull stood out in strong relief on the gleaming waters. So silent, so peaceful was the vast expanse, that it seemed as if the war of the elements was forever hushed in repose.

What a contrast was there between the stillness of nature and the terrible conflict raging in the breast of Fletcher Christian, as he paced the deck, brooding over his wrongs, and goaded, as it were, to madness by the coarse, unfounded accusations of the preceding morning! For many months such indignities as these had been borne with patience and forbearance; but now it seemed as if endurance had passed its utmost limits. The tyranny to which Christian had been subjected appeared more insupportable on considering how difficult, how almost impossible, it would be for him, as a junior officer, to bring his oppressor to a court-martial with any hope of success. There was but one mode of escape—and as he had observed many

proofs of the irritated feelings and disaffection of the crew, he felt certain that a word from him would place his commander at his mercy. True, he should be answerable to the laws of his country—but the ocean was wide and the power of the British Government far away. In his present state of mind Christian had no inclination to consider ultimate consequences; but still he did not form any definite plan until an accidental circumstance determined his course of action.

The morning of the 28th of April, 1789, dawned on a scene of confusion and dismay on board the ill-fated Bounty. Stewart and Peter Heywood were asleep in their hammocks until, awakened by an unusual noise on deck, they beheld Thompson, one of the seamen, with a drawn cutlass in his hand, standing at the door of the cabin. On demanding the reason, he said, "Mr. Christian has taken the vessel, and is going to carry Lieutenant Bligh as a prisoner to England." Peter Heywood hastily dressed himself, and going on deck, unhappily found the information but too true.

On the port side of the quarter-deck, a little before the binnacle, stood Lieutenant Bligh, without his coat, and with his hands tied behind his back, guarded by Christian, who was holding an unsheathed bayonet in one hand and a pistol in the other. To Bligh's expostulations he replied, "Ma-moo, Ma-moo!* or death will be your portion, sir." Christian then ordered the boatswain and carpenter to hoist out the large cutter, and beckoning to T. Hayward and Hallett, who had both been neglectful of their duty in the morning watch, ordered the former into the boat. "What harm have I ever done to you, Mr. Christian," asked Hayward, "that you should bear so hard upon me? I trust

* Tahitian for "Silence!"

you will relent." Christian was inexorable, and gave the same order to Hallett, who was in tears, and entreated, but in vain, that it might not be enforced. The master, Mr. Fryer, and the clerk, were then ordered out of the ship. The carpenter and others then interceded with Christian for the launch to be got ready, as even the large cutter could not contain the number of persons who were to go in her, together with the stores necessary for their subsistence. After a short parley this was conceded, and all hands were called to assist in getting her out. Among them was Morrison, the petty officer, who says in his journal "that the master (Mr. Fryer), after speaking to Lieutenant Bligh, came up to him, and asked if he had been concerned in the mutiny." He replied that he had not, as he had been awakened by the unusual noise on deck, and that the boatswain had come down to tell him the terrible state of affairs. The master then proposed to him that a party should be raised to attempt to retake the ship. Millward, Muspratt, Birkett, and other seamen readily assented, but Churchill and another mutineer, armed with pistols and cutlasses, observing them shake hands together, called to their own party to stand to their arms. Resistance was evidently useless, and Morrison records that he felt "it was as well to assist in getting out the launch, as others unconnected with the mutiny were doing." She was soon in the water, and every man threw into her what supplies he could, while the officers were hurried over the side of the vessel.

Mr. Fryer, the master, entreated that he might remain, but Christian ordered him into the launch, and forbade any fire-arms being given to Bligh's party. The carpenter, Purcell, was allowed to take his chest of tools. Masts, sails, spare canvas, saws, nails, etc., four gangway casks of water, some bags of biscuit, twenty-six pieces of pork, two

gourds of water, and Lieutenant Bligh's spirit-case, besides some bottles of wine, were then put into the launch. By this time it was so deeply laden as to be scarcely seven inches above the water's edge, and Bligh implored Christian to relent, saying, "I'll pawn my honor, Mr. Christian —I'll give my word—never to think of this if you will desist. Consider my wife and family!"

To this appeal Christian replied peremptorily, "No, Captain Bligh, if you had any honor, things would not have come to this extremity; and if you had any regard for your wife and family you should have thought of them before, and not behaved so like a villain as you have done."

The boatswain then attempted to soften Christian, who only said, "No, it is too late, Mr. Cole; I have been in h— this fortnight past, and am determined to bear it no longer. You know that during the whole voyage I have been treated like a dog."

Bligh then urged upon Christian that the master might be allowed to remain, and also some of the men who had been ordered into the launch, as she was so low in the water. "The men may remain, sir," was Christian's answer, "but the master must go with you."

Bligh then addressed them, and said, "Never mind, my boys; you can't all go with me, but I will do you justice if ever I reach England."

The boatswain, on leaving the vessel, was reminded by Morrison, his relative, of Bligh's promise, as he had intended to take his chance on board the vessel, and the reply was, "God bless you, my boy! but for my wife and children, I would remain also."

All being ready, Lieutenant Bligh's hands were released, and he was ordered into the boat. He had been allowed to take his clothes, his commission, private journal, and

pocket-book. Christian then handed over the side, and placed in Bligh's hands, a book of nautical tables and his own sextant, saying, "That book, sir, is sufficient for every purpose, and you know my sextant to be a good one."

The launch was then veered astern and cast adrift, and her crew took to their oars. There was little wind, and the sea was calm and waveless. It was then 8 A.M., and the nearest land about eight or ten leagues distant. Bligh's vows of vengeance as he left the ship reached the ears of many on board, and many were his indiscriminate accusations involving the innocent and the guilty. He was heard to be especially severe with regard to his young charge, Peter Heywood, who, he said, "ought to have raised a party in his favor, and retaken the vessel." In the first instance, however, neither Bligh nor any of his people ever made the least resistance, or attempted to seize the arms, and the mutiny was so sudden and so soon over, that it was not possible for any one, much less a young boy, to make any attempt at rescue.

As soon as the launch was gone, orders were given for all those who were detained in the ship to be released, among whom were Stewart and Peter Heywood. The latter had gone below with Stewart, to collect some clothes, by his friend's advice, and to accompany him in the launch. "Do not think of remaining," said Stewart; "if you do, you will bear an equal amount of guilt with the mutineers, although you have had no hand in the mutiny." When they attempted to return on deck Thompson, by Churchill's orders, presented a pistol at Stewart's breast, ordering him to remain below. Stewart then hailed Churchill, and said, "If you will not let us go, I desire you will inform the captain that we are detained by force." The reply was, "Aye, aye, sir," but the message was not delivered. Upon returning on deck, Stewart de-

manded of Christian the reason for his detention, who denied having given any orders to that effect; but Churchill said he "had kept Mr. Stewart and Mr. Heywood below, to prevent their going with Lieutenant Bligh in the launch;" and added, "If any thing should happen to you, Mr. Christian, there would be no one else to depend upon for navigating the ship."

Christian afterwards gave these two young officers the following account of this strange outbreak: He said he had borne much from Bligh, but the late accusations of theft had wounded his feelings so much that in desperation he determined to leave the ship, and with this view constructed a small raft of some pieces of wood tied together to a stout plank. Two or three persons were aware of this intention, among whom were the steward and Thomas Hayward. He finally put some food, nails, beads, and other things into a bag given him by Thomas Hayward for that purpose (which Morrison observed, as he had made the bag for Hayward); and thus provided, he intended to leave during either the first or the middle watch, in the hope of reaching some of the islands not far distant; but the ship was making no way through the water, and people were moving about the deck, so that no opportunity for escape offered. He had lain down to rest about half-past three in the morning, feeling very unwell, when Stewart called him to take the morning watch, and at the same time strongly recommended him to desist from all further attempts to leave the ship. Soon afterwards he went on deck, and finding Hayward asleep between the guns, and Hallett not having made his appearance, the idea presented itself that he should take possession of the vessel. He rushed down, communicated with some of the seamen who had been flogged by Bligh—who at once joined him with two or three others, seven in all—

and by an artifice they obtained from Churchill the keys of the arm-chest. At this juncture they found Hallett asleep on the main hatchway, and sent him on deck, where Norman, one of the seamen, was watching the motions of a shark round the vessel, and had awakened T. Hayward, the midshipman of the watch, to observe it. Christian and his confederates now appeared on deck armed, after having placed arms in the hands of several men below, who were quite unaware of their design. Lieutenant Bligh was then brought up from his cabin, and a guard placed over the cabin of the master, the gunner and botanist being also under the charge of two sentinels. Thus, in the course of a few hours, the whole state of affairs was changed on board the Bounty.

Lieutenant Bligh having been dismissed so summarily, the command naturally devolved upon Christian as next in rank.

But Christian himself was a changed man. A reaction had taken place; passion and resentment had cooled. He stood with his arms folded in moody thought, and with his eyes riveted on the departing boat. Nor was it matter for surprise that such should have been the case. What would be the result of the mutiny to himself? Degradation; and, should he ever fall into the hands of his countrymen, the death of a felon. This rash act had reduced him to a level with the worst and the lowest of his companions, and doomed him to a life of exile from all civilized society. Alas for him, that there had not been some friend at hand to have pointed out to him the fatal consequences of such a crime: the wide-spread anguish it would occasion to so many families; the misery and disgrace to his own; and who also could have urged upon him the solemn warning, that it is not for man to avenge his own wrongs! Thus might this unfortunate young

man have been saved from the abyss of ruin into which he had so recklessly plunged, and in which all, more or less, were hopelessly involved.

The men raised the cry—"Hurrah for Tahiti!" the ship wore round and Christian roused himself from his painful reflections. The die was cast; all that had been done was irrevocable, and it was essential for his own and the common weal that he should assume command and maintain discipline.

Instead of Tahiti he ordered the vessel to be steered for the small island of Toubouai, where they arrived on the 28th of May. It appeared a very fertile island, wooded almost to the water's edge, and surrounded by coral reefs. Among these there was but one opening—that described by Captain Cook—through which a vessel might be warped and moored close to the shore. The natives were assembled in great numbers as the vessel approached, armed with clubs and spears, and vehemently blowing their conch-shells. Their aspect was so savage, and they seemed so determined to oppose a landing, that Christian thought it as well for the time being to give up the attempt to form a settlement there, and he gave orders to change the course of the vessel for Tahiti. He also directed that the ship should be cleared of all the young bread-fruit trees, which were accordingly thrown overboard, and he appropriated to himself the captain's cabin, which was filled with all the curiosities collected during the voyage, and which he intended to use as articles of barter.

The mutineers had no sooner freed themselves from the odious tyranny of one man than they became tyrants to one another, and those who had taken no part in the mutiny were oppressed and regarded with especial dislike and suspicion. Some had endeavored to form a plot to retake

the ship, but their arrangements having been overheard, the arm-chest was removed from the care of Colman into the great cabin, and the key given to Churchill, whose bedding was placed on the chest itself for security. But though Christian might be considered strict in the maintenance of discipline, he never lost the respect of any one on board, and was invariably addressed and spoken of as "*Mr.* Christian."

All the clothes left by the officers and crew who accompanied Lieutenant Bligh, and the different curiosities and articles of barter, Christian ordered to be divided by lot among all hands on board, to make what use of them they pleased, as he intended returning to Toubouai after collecting live-stock at Tahiti.

They landed in Maatavaye Bay the 6th of June, 1789, the thirty-ninth day from that of the mutiny, and the natives of Tahiti soon flocked on board the Bounty, delighted to see their old friends, particularly Christian, to whom they were as partial as to Captain Cook, while Lieutenant Bligh was held by them in contempt and detestation. The speedy return of the ship was a matter of great surprise; they were acute enough to know she could not have returned from England, as they had frequently heard of its great distance. By way of ingratiating himself with the islanders, and inducing them to barter freely, Bligh had represented himself as the son of Captain Cook, whom they regarded with great affection, and of this artifice Christian availed himself in answering their numerous inquiries as to the absence of the rest of the officers and men. He replied that they had met Captain Cook, who took those people on board, and dispatched him back in the Bounty to collect live-stock and other provisions. The unsuspicious islanders gave full credence to the story, and were willing to barter to any extent, as Christian had

always treated them with great kindness, and given the full value for whatever was required. The armorer was incessantly employed polishing and improving the stock of iron articles on board, as they were greatly in request among the natives.

By the 16th of June, 1789, hogs, goats, and fowls had been collected in great numbers, some dogs and cats; and even, for a few red feathers, the bull and cow which Captain Cook had left, and upon which they set no value, were placed at Christian's disposal. With these, and a quantity of provisions for present use, he prepared to put to sea. There were on board after sailing, nine Tahitian men, twelve women, and eight boys. Most of them had secreted themselves about the ship, and only made their appearance when she was out at sea. They were urgent to remain on board, and Christian, unwilling to return, being a considerable distance from Tahiti, was induced to yield to their entreaties.

On the 23d of June, after a very rough passage, which killed several of their live-stock, and among them the fine bull, they arrived at Toubouai.

The natives on this occasion evinced a more friendly spirit, although the sudden change seemed unaccountable; and they even assisted in the long and laborious task of warping the ship through the narrow opening in the reef (which has been mentioned), to a kind of natural quay. Landing the animals and the stores occupied several days, and the Tahitian people, speaking a similar dialect to that of Toubouai, were of great assistance, as they soon understood the language, and for a time promoted a good understanding among all parties. Christian, however, had much difficulty in coming to terms with any of the chiefs for the purchase of land suitable for the fort he proposed to erect. One was very friendly, and offered any portion

of his land Christian would wish to possess. He accordingly chose a spot four miles to the eastward of the entrance between the reefs. In spite of the shoal water and of the rocks, he determined to haul the ship up there—a truly herculean task, as the water was very shallow, and there were no means of carrying any warps and anchors, the largest boat left belonging to the Bounty being only a light cutter twenty feet long. By lightening the ship, landing every article that it was possible to remove, and emptying the water-casks, they at last succeeded in bringing her up to the desired position.

Parties of men were soon formed to fell timber, and an armed guard accompanied them. Christian again made a fair division among the Englishmen of all the cloth and red feathers they had brought from Tahiti for barter, together with the much coveted iron-work. As soon as the size of the fort was marked out, and the walls commenced, a ditch twenty feet deep was dug around it—a task of immense labor—in which Christian took his part as continuously as any of the rest. He proposed to place on the parapet the armament of the Bounty, consisting of four four-pounders and ten swivels; but all this was not accomplished without determined opposition on the part of the islanders. There were frequent battles, in one of which Christian and another man were severely wounded, and a number of the natives slain.

A new obstacle now arose to thwart Christian's plans. Those of the Bounty's people who felt innocent of complicity in the mutiny declared their intention not to pass their lives in the island. In fact, Christian had been privately informed of a plot, in which Morrison, Stewart, and Peter Heywood were concerned, to lay in water and provision by night, and escape in the cutter. It was well for them that they were unable to carry out their perilous

enterprise, and that their release was brought about without danger to themselves or others.

On all sides there were discontents and murmurings arising principally from difficulties in the way of intercourse with the natives, and Christian would not countenance any violence towards them.* He had, unfortunately, to deal with a number of ignorant, reckless seamen, who considered then—and even in this enlightened age the same idea is too prevalent—that people of color have no rights of any kind, and that what they possess may be taken by force, without any scruple or recompense. Finding at length that it would be impossible to maintain the settlement in the disorganized state of affairs then existing, Christian assembled the whole party on the 10th of September, to ascertain their feelings as to future proceedings. The general expression was a desire to return to Tahiti, and there separate; but this proposal was overruled, after much discussion. The next day, however, the subject was renewed, and a show of hands called for, when sixteen declared for the return to Tahiti.

We will here again recur to Mr. Morrison's journal, in which he says:

"It was agreed that those who went on shore at Tahiti should have arms, ammunition, and part of every thing on board. The ship to be left in charge of Mr. Christian, in a proper condition to go to sea, with the sails, tackle, and furniture. Every thing being settled, we began to get ready for sea, filling the water-casks, and bending the sails.

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* Misunderstandings, no doubt, arose from the live-stock having been turned adrift on landing: and the goats, finding their way to the yam and taro plantations, would necessarily do much injury to these important articles of food, of which the Toubouaians were careful and laborious cultivators.

"A party was now sent to collect stock and search for the cow, which had not been seen since they landed. But the natives set upon them, beat them severely, and sent them back to the fort.

"On the 13th, as the party had returned without their errand, Mr. Christian ordered twenty men to be armed to go in quest of stock and to chastise the offenders, taking with them the nine Tahiti men and the boys, one of whom always carried the Union Jack. About a mile from the landing-place they were surrounded by about 700 of the natives, who had formed an ambush, into which they fell. The natives were all armed with clubs, spears, and stones, and fought with more fury than judgment, otherwise our whole party must have fallen into their hands. After many obstinate and furious efforts they gave ground, retired with great loss, and the stock was collected without further trouble.

"On the 14th we killed the cow, which proved excellent eating, and this evening came on board the young chief of Tārōa-meina, and two of his friends, who informed us that sixty men had been killed in the fight, and six women who had been supplying them with stones. Among the men several of note, one the brother of a chief, had been shot by Mr. Christian himself. Our visitor said he had been so much Mr. Christian's friend, that if he staid on shore he should be killed. Christian told him he was going to Tahiti, at which he seemed rejoiced, and asked if he would let him and his two friends go with him. Christian agreed, and they expressed much satisfaction.

"Having filled sufficient fresh water, we weighed our anchors on the 17th of September, and dropped down to the opening without much trouble, the ship being much lighter than before. When clear of the reef we lay by, and filled salt water to keep her on her legs, and at noon made sail, leaving Toubouai well stocked with hogs, goats, fowls, dogs, and cats.

"When we first met the natives we judged from their savage appearance that they were cannibals; but we found

that although they had no animals on the island, and lived only on fruit, vegetables, and fish, they detested the idea of eating human flesh.

"We stood to the N.N.E. with a fine breeze and fine weather. During the passage Colman was employed in making iron-work for barter.

"On the 20th we made the island Mytea, under which we hove to and divided the trade, ammunition, arms, wine, slops, etc., etc., in lots, which were put into the cabin for safety till the ship should come to anchor. On the 21st we bore away, and anchored on the 22d of September, 1789, in Maatavaye Bay, where, every thing being settled, the following persons prepared to go on shore:

George Stewart	Midshipman.	John Sumner	Able-bodied.
Peter Heywood	Midshipman.	Michael Byrne	" "
Joseph Colman	Armorer.	Thomas Ellison	" "
Charles Churchill	Master-at-arms.	R. Skinner	" "
James Morrison	Boatswain's mate.	M. Thompson	" "
Charles Norman	Carpenter's mate.	W. Muspratt	" "
Henry Heildbrandt	Cooper.	T. M'Intosh	" "
Thomas Birkett	Able-bodied.	T. Millward	" "

"Those who remained on board were:

Fletcher Christian	Acting lieuten't.	William M'Koy	Able-bodied.
John Mills	Gunner's mate.	John Williams	" "
Isaac Martin	Able-bodied.	Matthew Quintal	" "
William Brown	Gardener.	Alexander Smith, *alias* John Adams	" "
Edward Young*	Midshipman.		

and with them the young Toubouaian chief and his two friends, who had become so fond of Christian they would not leave him. Three Tahitian men, with their wives, also joined the party, and one of the women took with her her infant daughter ten months† old; in all twenty-eight persons determined to follow the fortunes of Christian.

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* It is singular that Edward Young should have preferred to accompany Christian. He had remained passive during the mutiny, and even when the uproar on deck took so many by surprise who had been asleep in their hammocks, and who naturally went up to ascertain the cause, Edward Young was not seen by any one; nor did he make his appearance until the ship was turned about and was steering for Toubouai.

† This little girl will be mentioned again in the course of the narrative.

"As soon as the ship came to an anchor, those for the shore began to land their chests, hammocks, etc., but having only one boat that would swim, and a tolerable high surf going, it was night before we all got off, being afraid to venture many at a time in the canoes of the natives, though they made a much better hand of landing in the surf than we could do in the boat. As we were fearful of the canoes, we were forced to wait for the boat returning to carry the ammunition, which was not landed until every thing else was on shore, and then only two men's stores at a time.

"Having landed our baggage, etc., we found the Tahitians ready to receive us with every mark of hospitality; the whole of them striving to outdo each other in civility and kindness towards us, and all were glad when we said that we had come to stay with them.

"Among the things we carried on shore were carpenters' tools, and part of those belonging to the armorer, a pig of iron for an anvil, a grindstone, some bar-iron, a suit of clothes, some iron pots, a copper kettle, and about three gallons of wine per man. Each man, except Byrne (who was blind), had a musket, pistol, cutlass, bayonet, cartridge-box, seventeen charges of powder, a quantity of lead whereof to make bullets, and some spare belts. Having a musquetoon and two muskets to spare, the former was kept under my care, and the muskets fell by lot to Charles Norman and Thomas Birkett. We asked for the saws, of which there were a 'whip' and 'cross' in the ship, but as Mr. Christian wanted them himself he gave some trade in lieu, also two spy-glasses and an old azimuth compass. He also told us to take the swivels on shore, but we declined, as they could be of no use. The canvas and sails, which he said we should not want, were however divided among us, and two Toubouaian images which we had brought from the island were put into my hands as a present for the young king.

"Mr. Christian told us he would stay a day or two, and hoped we would assist him to fill some water, as he in-

tended cruising about in search of some uninhabited island, where he would land his stock (of which a large number were on board, together with the plants common to all these islands), and where he hoped to live the remainder of his days, without seeing the face of any European, except those who accompanied him.

"Having made Poeno (one of the chiefs of Maatavaye Bay) my friend, and Millward also having done the same, we went to live with him, and were treated as members of his family; but with more attention and respect. The others also went to the houses of their friends, where they were treated in like manner.

"At daylight on the 23d of September, we found the ship under weigh, and standing out of the bay; but it proving calm she was not out of sight until noon, at which time she stood out to the northward on a wind. We were surprised to see the ship gone, as Mr. Christian had said he intended staying a day or two; but we thought that perhaps he was afraid of remaining at Tahiti, in case of detection, and also lest some of the people might desert him if he did so."

Christian, however, had landed, and spent some hours with Stewart and Peter Heywood at the house of the worthy chief who had been their friend on the two former visits to Tahiti, and whose property was situated on the bay near the landing-place. As the day began to dawn, he prepared for departure, and Stewart and his young friend accompanied him to the beach; when a conversation took place to the following effect: Christian said, that in the event of Bligh reaching England in safety, and making known to the authorities what had happened, a ship of war would certainly be sent out in search of the Bounty, and the remainder of the ship's company. In any case search would be made, if no intelligence of the expedition was received in England within a reasonable peri-

od. He earnestly advised the young men to go off at once to any ship of war that might appear, and give themselves up to the commander. "You are both innocent," he said, "no harm can come to you, for you took no part in the mutiny." Then turning to young Heywood, he recapitulated all the events connected with "that unfortunate disaster," as he termed it; and again declared that when Stewart came to call him to relieve the watch on the fatal morning of the mutiny, and he went on deck, his brain seemed on fire, and finding Thomas Hayward asleep, and Hallett not yet up on duty, the idea of taking the ship then first entered his mind." He added emphatically that *he alone was responsible for the act, and exonerated all, even his adherents, from so much as suggesting it.* Christian also related other circumstances in connection with the mutiny, which young Heywood was to communicate to his (Christian's) family, when he returned to England; circumstances, he thought, which might extenuate, though they could not justify, the crime he had committed against the laws of his country.*

At the conclusion of this last conversation, Christian stepped into the boat, and took a final leave of his young friends. Mingled feelings of regret and pity towards their misguided shipmate caused them to linger long on the beach as they watched the departing vessel, until, standing in a northerly direction, she disappeared on the distant horizon.

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* Many years after the date of these events, the substance of this conversation was related in a letter from Captain Heywood to Captain Beechy, who had submitted to him that portion of the voyage of the Blossom which related to Pitcairn; and Captain Heywood pointed out the inaccuracies in the statement of John Adams (Alexander Smith) relative to the mutiny—no doubt unintentional.

CHAPTER IV.

Lieutenant Bligh's Boat-voyage.—Arrival in England.—Correspondence.—H.M.S. Pandora dispatched to Tahiti.

On his dismissal from the Bounty, Lieutenant Bligh was compelled to make his way as best he could to the main land. He kept a journal, in which he described the perils and hardships endured by himself and his eighteen companions on their voyage in the launch. Some extracts from it may be interesting, as showing his skill and courage as a navigator; his care in recording the daily events of this remarkable feat in navigation; and also the way in which, towards its termination, he enforced his commands on men who had accompanied him at the imminent risk of their lives:

"My first determination," he says, "after leaving the ship, was to seek a supply of bread-fruit and water at Tofoa, and afterwards to sail for Tongataboo, and there risk a solicitation to Poulaho, the king, to equip our boat, and grant us a supply of water and provisions, so as to enable us to reach the East Indies. The quantity of provisions I found in the boat was one hundred and fifty pounds of bread, sixteen pieces of pork—each piece weighing two pounds—six quarts of rum, six bottles of wine, with twenty-eight gallons of water, and four empty barricos (small barrels).

"We reached Tofoa when it was dark, but found the shore so steep and rocky that we could not land. We were obliged, therefore, to remain all night in the boat, keeping it on the lee side of the island with two oars. Next day (Wednesday, April 29th) we found a cove,

where we landed. I observed the latitude of this cove to be 19 degrees 41 minutes south. This is the north-west part of Toʻoa, the north-westernmost of the Friendly Islands. As I was resolved to spare the small stock of provisions we had in the boat, we endeavored to procure something towards our support on the island itself. For two days we ranged through the island in parties, seeking for water, and any thing in the shape of provisions, subsisting in the mean while on morsels of what we had brought with us. The island seemed at first uninhabited, but on Friday, May 1st, one of our exploring parties met with two men, a woman, and a child: the men came with them to the cove, and brought two cocoa-nut shells of water.

"I endeavored to make friends of these people, and sent them away for bread-fruit, plaintains, and water. Soon after, other natives came to us, and by noon there were thirty about us, from whom we obtained a small supply. I was much puzzled in what manner to account to the natives for the loss of my ship. I knew they had too much sense to be amused with a story that the ship was to join me, when she was not in sight from the hills. I was at first doubtful whether I should tell the real fact, or say that the ship had overset and sunk, and that we only were saved: the latter appeared to be the most proper and advantageous for us, and I accordingly instructed my people, that we might all agree in the story. As I expected, inquiries were made about the ship, and they seemed readily satisfied with our account; but there did not appear the least symptom of joy or sorrow in their faces, although I fancied I discovered some marks of surprise.

"Towards evening I had the satisfaction to find our stock of provisions somewhat increased, but the natives did not appear to have much to spare. What they brought was in such small quantities, that I had no reason to hope we should be able to procure from them sufficient to stock us for our voyage. At night, I served a quarter of a bread-fruit and a cocoa-nut to each person for supper,

and a good fire being made, all went to sleep but the watch.

"*Saturday, May 2d.*—As there was no certainty of our being supplied with water by the natives, I sent a party among the gullies in the mountains, with empty shells, to see what could be found. In their absence the natives came about us, as I expected, and in great numbers; two canoes also came in from round the north side of the island. Soon after, some of the foraging party returned, and with them came a good-looking chief called Eefow.

"Their affability was of short duration, for the natives began to increase in numbers, and I observed some symptoms of a design against us. Soon after they attempted to haul the boat on shore, on which I brandished my cutlass in a threatening manner, and spoke to Eefow to desire them to desist, which they did, and every thing became quiet again. My people who had been in the mountains now returned with about three gallons of water. I kept buying up the little bread-fruit that was brought to us, and likewise some spears to arm my men with; having only four cutlasses, two of which were in the boat. As we had no means of improving our situation, I told our people I would wait till sunset, by which time, perhaps, something might happen in our favor; for if we attempted to go at present we might have to fight our way through, and we could do so more advantageously at night; that, in the mean time, we would endeavor to get off to the boat what we had bought. The beach was lined with the natives, and we heard nothing but the knocking of stones together, which they had in each hand. I knew very well this was the sign of an attack.

"After dinner, we began by little and little to get our things into the boat, which was a troublesome business on account of the surf. I carefully watched the motions of the natives, who continued to increase in number; and found that, instead of their intention being to leave us, fires were made, and places fixed on for their stay during the night. Consultations were also held among them, and

every thing assured me we should be attacked. I sent orders to the master, that when he saw us coming down he should keep the boat close to the shore, that we might the more readily embark.

"The onset was now preparing; every one, as I have described before, kept knocking stones together, and Eefow quitted me. All but two or three things were in the boat, when we walked down to the beach, every one in a kind of silent horror. We all got into the boat except one man, who, while I was getting on board, quitted it, and ran up the beach to cast the sternfast off, notwithstanding the master and others called to him to return, while they were hauling me out of the water.

"I was no sooner in the boat than the attack began by about two hundred men; the unfortunate poor man who had run up the beach was knocked down, and the stones flew like a shower of shot. Many Indians got hold of the stern-rope, and were near hauling the boat on shore; which they would certainly have effected, if I had not had a knife in my pocket, with which I cut the rope. We then hauled off to the grapnel, every one being more or less hurt. At this time I saw five of the natives about the poor man they had killed, and two of them were beating him about the head with stones in their hands.

"We had not time to reflect, for, to my surprise, they filled their canoes with stones, and twelve men came off after us to renew the attack; which they did so effectually as nearly to disable us all. We were obliged to sustain the attack without being able to return it, except with such stones as lodged in our boat. I adopted the expedient of throwing overboard some clothes, which, as I expected, they stopped to pick up; and, as it was by this time almost dark, they gave over the attack and returned towards the shore, leaving us to reflect on our unhappy situation.

"We now set our sails, and steered along shore by the west side of the Island of Tofoa, the wind blowing fresh from the eastward. My mind was employed in considering what was best to be done, when I was solicited by all

hands to take them towards home; and on my telling them that no hopes of relief for us remained, except what might be found at New Holland, till I came to Timor—a distance of full twelve hundred leagues, where there was a Dutch settlement, but in what part of the island I knew not—they all agreed to live on one ounce of bread and a quarter of a pint of water per day. Therefore, after examining our stock of provisions, and recommending to them in the most solemn manner not to depart from their promise, we bore away across the sea, where the navigation is but little known, in a small boat, twenty-three feet long from stem to stern, deep laden with eighteen men. I was happy, however, to see that every one seemed better satisfied than myself with our situation.

"Our stock of provisions consisted of about one hundred and fifty pounds of bread, twenty-eight gallons of water, twenty pounds of pork, three bottles of wine, and five quarts of rum. The difference between this and the quantity we had on leaving the ship, was principally owing to our loss in the bustle and confusion of the attack. A few cocoa-nuts were in the boat, and some bread-fruit, but the latter was trampled to pieces.

"*Sunday, 3d.*—At day-break the gale increased; the sun rose very fiery red—a sure indication of a severe gale of wind. At eight it blew a violent storm, and the sea ran very high, so that between the seas the sail was becalmed, and when on the top of the sea, it was too much to have set; but we could not venture to take in the sail, for we were in very imminent danger and distress, the sea curling over the stern of the boat, which obliged us to bale with all our might. A situation more distressing has perhaps seldom been experienced.

"I served a teaspoonful of rum to each person (for we were very wet and cold), with a quarter of a bread-fruit, which was scarcely eatable, for dinner. Our engagement was now strictly to be carried into execution, and I was fully determined to make our provisions last eight weeks, let the daily proportion be ever so small.

"*Monday, 4th.*—At midnight our limbs were so benumbed, that we could scarcely find the use of them. At this time I served a teaspoonful of rum to each person, from which we all felt great benefit. Just before noon we discovered a small, flat island, of a moderate height, bearing w.s.w. four or five leagues.

"*Wednesday, 6th.*—We still kept our course in the direction of the north of New Holland, passing numerous islands of various sizes, at none of which I ventured to land. Our allowance for the day was a quarter of a pint of cocoa-nut milk, and the meat, which did not exceed two ounces to each person. It was received very contentedly, but we suffered great drought. To our great joy we hooked a fish, but we were miserably disappointed by its being lost in trying to get it into the boat.

"*Thursday, 7th.*—Being very wet and cold, I served a spoonful of rum and a morsel of bread for breakfast. We still kept sailing among islands, from one of which two large canoes put out in chase of us; but we left them behind. Whether these canoes had any hostile intention against us must remain a doubt; perhaps we might have been benefited by an intercourse with them, but, in our defenseless situation, to have made the experiment would have been risking too much.

"*Saturday, 9th.*—About nine in the evening the clouds began to gather, and we had a prodigious fall of rain, with severe thunder and lightning. By midnight we caught about twenty gallons of water. Being miserably wet and cold, I served to the people a teaspoonful of rum each, to enable them to bear with their distressed situation.

"All Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the wet weather continued, with heavy seas and squalls. As there was no prospect of getting our clothes dried, my plan was to make every one strip, and wring them through the salt-water, by which means they received a warmth that, while wet with rain, they could not have had. We were constantly shipping seas and baling, and were very wet and cold during the night. The

sight of the islands, which we were always passing, served only to increase the misery of our situation. We were very little better than starving, with plenty in view; yet to attempt procuring any relief was attended with so much danger, that prolonging of life, even in the midst of misery, was thought preferable, while there remained hopes of being able to surmount our hardships. For my own part, I considered the general run of cloudy and wet weather to be a blessing of Providence. Hot weather would have caused us to have died of thirst; and probably being so constantly covered with rain or sea, protected us from that dreadful calamity.

"*Saturday*, 16*th*. — The sun breaking out through the clouds gave us hopes of drying our wet clothes; but the sunshine was of short duration. We had strong breezes at south-east by south, and dark, gloomy weather, with storms of thunder, lightning, and rain. The night was truly horrible, and not a star to be seen, so that our steerage was uncertain.

"*Sunday*, 17*th*.—At dawn of day I found every person complaining, and some of them solicited extra allowance, which I positively refused. Our situation was miserable; always wet, and suffering extreme cold during the night, without the least shelter from the weather. Being constantly obliged to bale to keep the boat from filling was perhaps not to be reckoned an evil, as it gave us exercise.

"*Sunday*, 24*th*.—A fine morning I had the pleasure to see produce some cheerful countenances; and the first time for fifteen days past we experienced comfort from the warmth of the sun. We stripped, and hung our clothes up to dry, which were by this time so threadbare that they would not keep out either wet or cold.

"Sailing on, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, I at length became satisfied that we were approaching New Holland. This was actually the case; and after passing the reefs which bound that part of the coast we found ourselves in smooth water. Two islands lay about four miles to the west by north, and appeared eligible for a

resting-place, if for nothing more; but on our approach to the nearest island it proved to be only a heap of stones, and its size too inconsiderable to shelter the boat. We therefore proceeded to the next, which was close to it and towards the main. We landed to examine if there were any signs of the natives being near us; we saw some old fire-places, but nothing to make me apprehend that this would be an unsafe situation for the night. Every one was anxious to find something to eat, and it was soon discovered that there were oysters on the rocks, for the tide was out; but it was nearly dark, and only a few could be gathered. I determined, therefore, to wait till the morning, when I should know better how to proceed.

"*Friday*, 29*th*.—As there was no appearance to make me imagine that any of the natives were near us, I sent out parties in search of supplies, while others of the people were putting the boat in order. The parties returned highly rejoiced at having found plenty of oysters and fresh water. I had also made a fire by the help of a small magnifying-glass; what was still more fortunate, we found among the few things which had been thrown into the boat and saved, a piece of brimstone and a tinder-box, so that I secured fire for the future.

"*Sunday*, 31*st*.—Many small islands were in sight to the north-east. We landed at one of a good height, bearing north one-half west. The shore was rocky, but the water was smooth, and we landed without difficulty. I sent two parties out, one to the northward and the other to the southward, to seek for supplies, and others I ordered to stay by the boat. On this occasion fatigue and weakness so far got the better of their sense of duty that some of the people expressed their discontent at having worked harder than their companions, and declared that they would rather be without their dinner than go in search of it. One person in particular went so far as to tell me with a mutinous look that he was as good a man as myself. It was not possible for me to judge where this might have an end if not stopped in time; therefore, to prevent such

disputes in future, I determined either to preserve my command or die in the attempt, and seizing a cutlass I ordered him to take hold of another and defend himself, on which he called out that I was going to kill him, and immediately made concessions. I did not allow this to interfere further with the harmony of the boat's crew, and every thing soon became quiet. We here procured some oysters and clams, also some dog-fish caught in the holes of the rocks, and a supply of water.

"Leaving this island, which I named Sunday Island, we continued our course towards Endeavor Straits. During our voyage Nelson became very ill, but gradually recovered. Next day we landed at another island, to see what we could get. There were proofs that the island was occasionally visited by natives from New Holland. Encamping on the shore, I sent out one party to watch for turtle, and another to try to catch birds. About midnight the bird-party returned with only twelve noddies, birds about the size of pigeons; but if it had not been for the folly and obstinacy of one of the party, who separated from the other two and disturbed the birds, they might have caught a great number. I was so much provoked at my plans being thus defeated that I gave this offender a good beating. This man afterwards confessed that, wandering from his companions, he had eaten nine birds raw. Our turtling party had no success.

"Tuesday and Wednesday we still kept our course north-west, touching at an island or two for oysters and clams. We had now been six days on the coast of New Holland, and but for the refreshment which our visits to its shores afforded us, it is all but certain that we must have perished. Now, however, it became clear that we were leaving it behind, and were commencing our adventurous voyage through the open sea to Timor.

"For six days our voyage continued; a dreary repetition of those sufferings which we had experienced before reaching New Holland. In the course of the night we were constantly wet with the sea, and exposed to cold and

shiverings; and in the day-time we had no addition to our scanty allowance, except a 'booby' and a small dolphin that we caught, the former on Friday, 5th, and the latter on Monday, 8th. Many of us were ill, and the men complained heavily. On Wednesday, 10th, after a very comfortless night, there was a visible alteration for the worse in many of the people, which gave me great apprehensions. An extreme weakness, swelled legs, hollow and ghastly countenances, a more than common inclination to sleep, with an apparent debility of understanding, seemed to me the melancholy presages of an approaching dissolution.

"*Thursday*, 11*th*.—Every one received the customary allowance of bread and water, and an extra allowance of water was given to those who were most in need. At noon I observed in latitude 9° 41′ south, course south 77° west, distance one hundred and nine miles; longitude made, 13° 49′ west. I had little doubt of having now passed the meridian of the eastern part of Timor, which is laid down in 128° east. This diffused universal joy and satisfaction.

"*Friday*, 12*th*.—At three in the morning, with an excess of joy, we discovered Timor, bearing from W.S.W. to W.N.W., and I hauled on a wind to the N.N.E. till daylight, when the land bore from S.W. by S. to N.E. by N.: our distance from the shore being two leagues. It is not possible for me to describe the pleasure which the sight of this land diffused among us. It appeared scarcely credible to ourselves that, in an open boat and so poorly provided, we should have been able to reach the coast of Timor in forty-one days after leaving Tofoa, having in that time run, by our log, a distance of 3618 miles; and that, notwithstanding our extreme distress, no one should have perished on the voyage.

"*Sunday*, 14*th*.—At one o'clock in the morning, after the most happy and sweet sleep that ever man enjoyed, we weighed, and continued to keep the east coast on board, in very smooth water. The report of two cannon that

were fired gave new life to every one, and soon after we discovered two square-rigged vessels and a cutter at anchor to the eastward. After hard rowing we came to a grapnel near daylight off a small fort or town, which the pilot told me was Coupang.

"We remained at Coupang two months, during which time we experienced every possible kindness. Having purchased a small schooner, which I named H.M. schooner Resource, I and the crew set off for Batavia. We reached that settlement on the 1st of October, where I sold the schooner, and endeavored to procure a passage for us to England. We were obliged to separate and go in different ships. I embarked on board a Dutch packet bound to Middleburgh, my clerk and a seaman with me. The Governor promised the others should follow as soon as possible in another ship. On the 13th of March, 1790, we sighted the Bill of Portland, and the next day, Sunday, 14th, I left the packet and was landed at Portsmouth by an Isle of Wight boat."

We here terminate Lieutenant Bligh's journal, whose return to England under such singular circumstances, and the tale of his sufferings, with those of his boat's crew, excited universal sympathy at home. He was immediately promoted to the rank of commander, and soon after to that of post-captain, the three years' usual period of service having been dispensed with in his case; and *his own* account of the mutiny made him appear as a martyr, whose kindness and forbearance had met with a base return from a worthless ship's company. For the time being he was a hero, and little cared for the anguish endured by the families of the absent officers and men, who (as he knew) had taken no part in the mutiny. What communications Lieutenant Bligh received from the different relatives, and what replies he made, do not appear on record, except in the case of Peter Heywood, whose un-

cle, Colonel Holwell,* wrote to Bligh immediately he arrived in England; and although a copy of this letter is not forthcoming, the following reply of the lieutenant is preserved among the family papers:

"London, 28th of March, 1790.

"Sir,—I have just this instant received your letter. With much concern I inform you that your nephew, Peter Heywood, is among the mutineers; his ingratitude to me is of the deepest dye, for I was a father to him in every respect, and he never once had an angry word from me during the whole course of the voyage, as his conduct always gave me much pleasure and satisfaction. I very much regret that so much baseness formed the character of a young man I had a real regard for, and it will give me much pleasure to hear that his friends can bear the loss of him without much concern. I am, sir, your obedient servant, Wm. Bligh."

In consequence of various reports which had reached the Isle of Man, to the effect that young Peter had been a ringleader in the mutiny, and had gone armed into the captain's cabin, Mrs. Heywood, in a state of mind almost bordering on distraction, addressed a letter to Lieutenant Bligh on the subject, and his reply has been preserved. It is as follows:

"London, April 2d, 1790.

"Madam,—I received your letter this day, and feel for you very much, being perfectly sensible of the extreme distress you must suffer from the conduct of your son Peter. His baseness is beyond all description; but I hope

* Colonel Holwell was son of W. Holwell, Esq., Governor of the infant English settlement at Calcutta, one of the twenty-three survivors out of one hundred and forty-six persons put into the Black Hole, and kept there during many hours without ventilation. This officer, by his union with one of the sisters of the Deemster Heywood, was uncle by marriage to Peter.

you will endeavor to prevent the loss of him, heavy as the misfortune is, from affecting you too severely. I imagine he is, with the rest of the mutineers, returned to O'Tahiti. I am, madam, your most obedient, very humble servant, WM. BLIGH."

The overwhelming effect of this unfeeling letter on the minds of an affectionate mother and her family, and the grief it occasioned, may be readily imagined. Later, however, came a gleam of comfort from the hope that Peter was innocent. A kind friend had written to them, saying that Lieutenant Bligh had declared that the report of Peter Heywood having gone armed into his (Bligh's) cabin was a complete fabrication!

As soon after Lieutenant Bligh's arrival as the service permitted, the Pandora frigate, of twenty-four guns and one hundred and sixty men, was ordered to be fitted out with all possible dispatch to search for the Bounty and those of her officers and crew who had remained on board after the departure of Lieutenant Bligh. Some months, however, elapsed before she was fairly under weigh for the South Seas.

CHAPTER V.

Proceedings of the Officers and Crew who separated from Fletcher Christian.—The Schooner Resolution built.—Arrival of the Pandora.—Sufferings of the Prisoners.—Shipwreck.—Privations on the Boat-voyage.—Reach Batavia.—Return to England.

While the events related in the foregoing pages were occurring, and the Pandora was on her voyage from England to Tahiti, those of the Bounty's people, who had determined not to accompany Christian, separated into parties, and resided in different districts of the island. Stewart and Peter Heywood remained with their old friend Tippaoo,* whose land bordered on Maatavaye Bay, and whose daughter Stewart married.

Morrison and Millward became the guests of another chief—their old friend Poeno—also possessing land on the shores of the Bay, and others were dispersed among their various friends or acquaintances in different parts of the island. Morrison, however, was by no means inclined to wait until a ship should be sent from England to search for the crew of the Bounty. The idea occurred to him that it might be possible to build a small vessel in which to proceed to Batavia, and from thence find a passage to England. His friend Millward at once entered into the scheme with eight others, including the armorer, cooper, carpenter's mate, and one of his crew, who all resided at Maatavaye Bay. The latter four being skilled workmen, the others agreed to do the rough work, such as cutting down trees, and clearing a place to lay the blocks prepar-

* They had become intimate with him when the Bounty first arrived at Tahiti.

atory to the undertaking. When it is considered that all the tools they possessed were the few belonging to the carpenter's mate, a small handsaw, small adzes, etc., and that they had to make all others they might require in the best manner they could, the undertaking must appear most enterprising. Stewart and Peter Heywood declined taking any part, preferring to wait the arrival of a ship of war from England, according to Christian's advice.

On the 12th of November, 1789, the keel of the vessel was laid down, the length being thirty feet, breadth of beam nine feet six inches, and depth of hold five feet. The wood of the pooroo-tree was considered the best for timbering, and that of the bread-fruit tree for planks. Before proceeding farther, however, Morrison was obliged to explain to his friend, the chief Poeno, that they were going to build a vessel for the purpose of making pleasure-trips round the island, or else every obstacle would have been thrown in the way, so unwilling were the natives to part with their guests. On this understanding, and with the expectation of future enjoyment when the vessel should be completed, every assistance was afforded them by the chief and his people. During three months the vessel progressed rapidly, numbers of natives surrounding the place, and their amazement daily increasing at the mode in which the timbers were fitted into one another by rule. Morrison, our journalist, writes thus of it:

"*February* 1*st*, 1790.—The work was interrupted by a '*Heira*' (a ceremony), which according to custom was annually performed before the chief of the district, and the greater number of the inhabitants assembled to witness it. When all was prepared, the picture of Captain Cook* was

* Captain Cox, commanding a merchant ship, the Mercury, had left them a picture of the circumnavigator, and also informed them of his death; but though they expressed great indignation against Lieutenant Bligh for

brought out with great ceremony, and exhibited to the assembled multitude, who paid homage to it. A national dance was then performed, and a person of importance pronounced a long oration, at the conclusion of which the portrait was restored to the care of an old man specially appointed for that purpose. The queen, Eddea, was present, and after the ceremonial visited the little vessel, which had become an object of so much interest to the natives that numbers of persons from all parts of the island flocked to see her, and brought supplies of provisions to the ship-building party, as a compensation for being permitted to watch the progress of the work. The perseverance and skill of the Englishmen excited their astonishment; but they could not understand how they could labor so hard, and for so long a period."

All went smoothly until an event occurred which seemed likely to raise a serious obstacle in the way of completing the vessel. Thompson, who resided with Coleman, had insulted a member of one of the principal families of the district in which he resided, and for this offense he was knocked down, but not otherwise injured, by an incensed relative. He left that district, vowing vengeance for the affront, and returned to his former home near Point Venus, the usual resting-place for canoes when they were going round the island. This point had become a still more favorite resort on account of the facility it afforded for seeing the ship in progress of building. One day a canoe from a distant district touched at the Point, and the party landed. The owner was taking his wife and family on a pleasure-excursion, and proceeding up the beach with a young child in his arms, the rest of his family following, when Thompson angrily ordered him to quit

having practised such a deception as to say Cook was alive, and that he was his son, yet they were not displeased with Christian for having in a measure availed himself of the subterfuge. (See page 48.)

the place, speaking in English, which they did not understand. The party therefore did not attend to his injunction, on which he seized a musket, and shot the unfortunate man and his child, who both fell lifeless on the spot.

The English residents, and numbers of natives, rushed to the aid of the victims, and also to console the bereaved widow and her family. Young Heywood, expressing much sympathy and regret, gave her some trifling presents, and this small act of kindness proved afterwards the means of preserving his life. All the English felt considerable alarm lest the crime committed by Thompson should be visited upon them; but all the spectators accused Thompson of being the sole perpetrator of the crime, and he was shunned by his countrymen (with the exception of Churchill), and by the inhabitants of that district. The two friends then determined to remove into the interior, and they were accompanied by a sailor who had deserted from a vessel which had touched at the island previous to the arrival of the Bounty.

Some months after this event Peter Heywood was travelling with his friend the chief Poeno, and arrived at the district where the family and relatives of the murdered man resided. Seeing an English person, they imagined it might be Thompson, and a number of people rushed upon Heywood, seized him, and dragged him along the ground by the hair of his head, while others took up stones to kill him. Poeno attempted to rescue his young friend, but his exertions and entreaties would have proved unavailing had not the murdered man's brother recognized Peter Heywood, and explained how he had befriended the widow. Upon hearing this, the anger of the infuriated multitude was appeased, and they uttered the most frank expressions of sorrow for the violence they had offered him. They made every reparation in their power, by protecting

him and his friend on their journey through the different districts they had to pass until they reached their home.

Thompson and his associate were as much objects of dread as of dislike among the inhabitants of the interior; but no friendship or kindly feeling could exist between such desperadoes. At length their feuds led to deadly conflicts, which ended in Thompson shooting Churchill, for which, and for his former misdeeds, he himself met with just retribution at the hands of the natives. Thus ended the career of two of the most violent of the mutineers, and their removal relieved the residents at Maatavaye from all anxiety as to personal safety. But other impediments came in the way of the completion of the vessel. Several of the ship-building party, who had at first entered zealously into the scheme, withdrew from work, and left the district.

Easter came, which was religiously observed by all the Englishmen, as Sunday had been from the period of their return to Tahiti. By the 30th of April, however, the workmen had completed the planking, as well as the ceiling of the cabin, and they were ready to begin caulking. For this purpose, parties of men were sent out to collect the gum of the bread-fruit tree as a substitute for pitch. This proved a long and troublesome task, as the largest quantity a man could collect during the day by scraping the bark of the trees with shells was only a quarter of a pound. But perseverance and industry overcame this, as well as other difficulties, and a sufficient quantity was obtained and boiled, so that with what rope they possessed very tolerable oakum was prepared, with which to caulk the vessel throughout. She was to be schooner rigged, and the next task was to make masts, booms, gaffs, and a bowsprit. On the 30th of July, 1790, all these were completed, and her rudder being fitted, she was declared ready

to be launched. Morrison thus describes the proceeding:

"With what rope we could muster, we slung the masts on the sides, making a kind of cradle under her; and not requiring most of the auger shanks, we made use of them as bolts, and clenched them through the keel and kelson, to strengthen that part. Being all ready on the 5th of August, we applied to Poeno for assistance to launch her, but he refused until the priests should have uttered certain prayers, and gone through the ceremony of throwing the boughs of plantain-trees over her, which occupied several hours. A number of men were then permitted to assist us, whom the priest exhorted to do their duty. They all joined in a chorus, and pushed the vessel so vigorously that she soon began to move. In half an hour she reached the beach, when she was launched, and we christened her the Resolution with some cider we had prepared for the purpose from a kind of apple which grows luxuriantly in the island. She received no other damage (except breaking the masts), in a passage of about three-quarters of a mile to the sea.

"Having got the ropes from under her, and a canoe afloat with her, we towed her round Point Venus into a small bay to the eastward of the point, and moored her with the killick and a warp on shore, in a good berth, and under the shelter of a point within the reef.

"We then prepared a log-reel and line, and by cutting a glass vial in halves with a flint, and fixing a leaden centre, cast on purpose, made a tolerably good half-minute glass, counting the seconds by a musket-ball slung to a thread, between which and the watch we made it tolerably correct.

"Every thing seemed to be had without trouble or difficulty, except sails, and how to procure them we could not tell, matting being scarce and at the best very unserviceable; and, though we had cut up our clothes, we had not sufficient canvas amongst us to make her one sail

which would be fit to set at sea. However, we continued at work, preparing such things as were in our power, and trusting to Providence for the rest. At length some matting was procured, and, Coleman having contrived to make some sail-needles, accomplished the work with tolerable success."

The first trial-trip of the Resolution answered well in all respects except as regarded the sails; and, owing to this failure, Morrison and his friends felt that they must abandon the proposed voyage to Batavia and the hope of proceeding thence to England—a great disappointment—as this hope had stimulated them to exertion, and cheered their hours of labor.

During these months Stewart and Peter Heywood had been fully employed: the former in the formation and cultivation of a garden; the latter in studying the Tahitian language, and writing a vocabulary, which afterwards proved of great value to the missionaries. Eighteen months had elapsed since their return to Tahiti in the Bounty, and during this period no tidings of home, or of relatives and friends, had reached the exiles. They began to weary of their imprisonment, and naturally became anxious about their promotion in the service, which was being retarded by their involuntary absence. Young Peter was keenly sensitive on this point, and anxious to rejoin his family and friends. He would frequently wander for hours among the forests of bread-fruit and cocoa-nut palms in the vicinity of his dwelling, indulging in sad thoughts concerning his actual position and future prospects. One evening, when more than usually desponding, he strayed far from home, allured by the bright moon which had risen late, and lighted up the forest glades. Sitting down at length at the foot of a lofty bread-fruit tree, he fell asleep, and had the following remarkable

dream: He fancied himself walking through a fertile valley by the side of a sparkling river. Precipices inclosed the scene on every side; the plants and shrubs were of a different character to any he had ever seen, and the sunlight was of surpassing brilliancy. Suddenly he came to a spot where further progress was impeded by the rocks; the sky became obscure and gloomy, and a voice from overhead addressed him in an impressive tone as follows: "Young man! cease thy murmurings, and rebel not against the decree of God. Remember that man is born to adversity, and that patience and resignation to all that may occur is thy bounden duty, and will enable thee to bear with serenity all the evils thou wilt have to endure. God watches over all His creatures, the evil as well as the good. Confide in His mercy and love, act uprightly, keep thy conscience clear, and, trusting in Almighty Providence, thou needest not under any circumstances despair."* The voice then ceased, and Peter awoke to find that the sun had risen, and that his limbs were stiffened by the damp of the copious dew which had fallen during the night. This dream produced a profound impression on his mind; he regarded it as a merciful, though mysterious, communication, and became more cheerful and resigned to circumstances over which he had had no control.

This period of probation lasted a year longer, and its unexpected termination took place on the morning of March 23d, 1791. At an early hour, a vessel was observed rounding the point, and standing in to Maatavaye Bay. She proved to be H.M.S. Pandora, commanded by Captain

* It may be mentioned, as a singular coincidence, that this dream occurred on the 6th of February, 1790, the night young Heywood's father died in the Isle of Man; of which event he only heard when he arrived at Portsmouth in June, 1792.

Edward Edwards, R.N. Before she had anchored, Coleman was the first to present himself on board, and was nearly drowned in the attempt, the canoe having been upset, and he with difficulty rescued. Stewart and Peter Heywood followed in a large double canoe, and gave themselves up to Captain Edwards, informing him who they were; but, without further inquiry, he ordered them to be taken below and placed in irons, together with three others, who had successively arrived, and were all manacled.

Meanwhile, Morrison, Ellison, and Norman were in the schooner proceeding round the island, and the hapless prisoners could only indicate the direction their companions had taken. The launch was then manned and armed, with orders to search for these men, and for the others resident in the interior of the island. The pilot, being a friend of Morrison's, sent people forward to warn him of the arrival of the Pandora, and that the launch was dispatched in pursuit of him and his companions, and to secure the schooner. When the messenger reached the party, the Resolution was lying at anchor in a small bay. Without delay or hesitation, the three left her, took a canoe which conveyed them a considerable distance, and, to expedite their movements, landed and walked fourteen miles across the country to the harbor where the launch was anchored, which they reached at four o'clock in the morning. They found Lieutenant Corner,* the second lieutenant of the Pandora, in command, and gave themselves up to him. He received them courteously, but placed them under guard; at the same time ordering refreshments, which they much needed. In a few hours the pinnace of the Pandora, also armed, joined the launch, and Lieutenant

* This officer was always kind to the prisoners, and through life Captain Heywood continued on friendly terms with him. In after years Mr. Corner became Superintendent of Marine Police at Malta.

Corner placed the three prisoners in charge of the third lieutenant to convey them on board, while he in the launch proceeded to seize the schooner and the remainder of the people, who were at the other side of the island. The prisoners found themselves in charge of their former shipmate Hayward, one of the midshipmen of the Bounty, who had been promoted to the rank of third lieutenant of the Pandora. He took little notice of them, beyond inquiring about the Bounty, and who had remained in her; informing them how Stewart, Heywood and their companions had been received on board, and the treatment they also might expect. As a preparation, he ordered fetters to be put on their ankles in order to prevent escape.

It was with difficulty that, with such obstacles, they mounted the side of the ship, and on gaining the deck Captain Edwards ordered them instantly below, to be heavily chained, like their unfortunate shipmates. Sentinels were placed over them, with orders to shoot the first man who should speak, especially should they address each other in the Tahitian language, or speak to the natives who crowded on board. They had plenty of provisions, and as their friends on shore were allowed to supply them daily with fresh cocoa-nuts, they did not care for the forbidden luxury of grog. The unfortunate prisoners remained between decks several days, and some dirty hammocks were supplied to them to lie upon, but these being full of vermin, they requested they might be removed, as they preferred the bare deck. They were also unable to make use of the changes of linen ordered for them by the captain, their irons being clinched so tight that it was impossible for them to rise or use their arms. Although the heat between decks was excessive, yet that situation was preferable to the kind of poop or round-house which they had heard was preparing on the quarter-deck for their re-

ception. The boards of this prison were so roughly put together as scarcely to shelter them from the heat of the sun, or from the rain, which frequently fell in torrents.

On the 9th of April the schooner Resolution reached the ship, and brought on board the remaining six prisoners, transferring them to the dreaded "Pandora's box," through the scuttle at the top, about eighteen inches square. This "box" was fastened by bolts through the combings of a hatchway. There were two scuttles of nine inches square in the bulk-head of the box, to admit air to the prisoners. The scuttles or apertures were also secured against escape by iron gratings, and even the stern-ports of the ship were barred inside and out. The length of this "box" was eleven feet at the deck, and the width eighteen feet at the bulk-head.* In this contracted space fourteen prisoners were confined; two sentries were placed on the top of it, and a midshipman paced up and down across the bulk-head. No one was allowed to hold any communication with the prisoners except the master-at-arms, and he only on the subject of their provisions. Their condition in this dreadful confinement became daily more pitiable, owing to the extreme heat, and Morrison quaintly records "that their prison-house was only washed out once a week, they

* "Peter Heywood, while there a prisoner, and suffering the most cruel hardships from his treatment on board H.M.S. Pandora, composed the following lines—the results of experience:

"Lest I should bend beneath this weighty load,
And ne'er enjoy thy promised blest abode,
Attend, thou Hope, on me, and be my guide,
Thro' all my sorrows, walking by my side:
Keep in my eyes that distant happy spot
Where sweet content shall be my future lot,
Free from ambition or desire of gain,
Living in peace, exempt from mental pain;
My food, the fruits with my own culture grown,
'The world forgetting, by the world unknown:'
There tasting pleasure void of care's alloy,
Crowning afflictions past with present joy!

"March, 1791. PETER HEYWOOD."

were washed with it; and this was the only ablution allowed them!" Such was a picture of the treatment of prisoners by the British Royal Navy, in the year 1791! Each officer of the ship, as he was relieved from his watch of this prison, examined the state of the shackles, and M'Intosh's limbs being slight, he contrived to liberate one leg at night, which was a great relief. This circumstance being reported to Captain Edwards, the first lieutenant, Mr. Larkin, was instructed to make a general inspection of the irons. The leg-irons were immediately reduced in size to fit close, and, writes Morrison, "Mr. Larkin in trying the handcuffs, placed his foot against our breasts, and hauling them over our hands with all his strength, in several cases took off the skin with them. All that could be hauled off in this manner were reduced, and fitted so close there was no possibility of turning the hand in them. When our wrists began to swell, he told us the handcuffs were not intended to fit like gloves."

Sickness soon appeared among the prisoners, and their limbs became galled from the tightness of their irons. One or two of the greatest sufferers were released from their handcuffs, but their legs were still kept fastened to the two iron bars which ran across the deck.

During the whole period of their stay at Tahiti, the ship was daily surrounded by canoes, not only with supplies, but with the numerous friends of the prisoners, full of sorrow and lamentations for their misfortunes. Few were allowed to come on board to see them, but among the few was the young girl Stewart had married, and named Peggy. She came with her infant in her arms, and, seeing her husband lying on the deck among the others heavily ironed, her grief knew no bounds; even the hard-hearted captain and his lieutenant were touched by her sorrow, and she was admitted into the prison-house. With reit-

erated cries, she clung to Stewart, and the scene becoming too painful, it was necessary to remove her by force. Stewart was so completely unnerved by this interview, that he entreated she might not be allowed to see him again. Poor Peggy, however, was not to be deterred from remaining on the beach, where she could, at all events, see the vessel, from the earliest dawn to midnight. Her father and friends were seen endeavoring to persuade her to take food and rest, but in vain; she was daily at her post, and within a few weeks after the departure of the Pandora, the broken-hearted girl sank into an early grave, leaving her infant to the care of her sister, who took a mother's interest in the welfare of the little orphan.*

The necessary supply of water and provisions being completed, and the Resolution fitted with sails, Captain Edwards ordered a midshipman and four men on board to navigate her, with instructions to keep the Pandora in sight. On the 19th of May, 1791, they sailed from Tahiti, and stood to the north-west, with the intention of prosecuting a strict search among the islands for the remainder of the Bounty's crew, in which service the little schooner proved most useful, as her small draught of water enabled her to lie close to the extensive reefs.

As they approached Chatham Island, the schooner was missed, and, although the Pandora cruised about for several days in search of her, she could nowhere be seen, and was given up for lost. (This seemed a second disaster, as previously the jolly-boat had been blown from the land when going off to her, and a midshipman and four men on board never heard of again.) The Pandora, having cruised about the different groups of islands for three

* In after years this account was brought to England by the missionaries, by whom the little girl had been educated.

months, seeking the Bounty and her people, Captain Edwards was obliged to relinquish the search, and sailed from the Friendly Islands in the middle of August for the Island of Timor.

The sufferings of the prisoners during this cruise had been intolerable. They had no means of steadying themselves when the ship lurched, and being thrown together, unavoidably wounded themselves and each other with their irons. At the request of Lieutenant Corner, who always evinced much kindness and consideration towards them, Captain Edwards allowed short pieces of plank to be secured to the deck, to remedy these frequent collisions and consequent suffering. We shall now recur again to Morrison's journal:

"On the 22d of August, 1791, we approached Endeavor Strait, and narrowly escaped running on a reef in it, obliging us to be working to windward for some days without finding any opening. On Sunday, the 28th, the second lieutenant was sent with the yawl to make a closer examination, while the ship was hove to. At 7 P.M. on Sunday, the 28th of August, the current running strongly on the reef, the ship was forced on it in the midst of a heavy surf, at the moment the returning yawl had come within hail, and was warning the people of the danger, but in vain. The ship was forced farther on the reef with violent and repeated shocks, and we expected every surge that the masts would go by the board. Seeing her in this situation, we judged she would not hold long together. As we were in danger at every shock of killing each other with our irons, we broke them, that we might be ready to assist ourselves, and informed the officers of what we had done. When Mr. Corner was acquainted with it he came aft, and we told him we should attempt nothing further, as we only wanted a chance for our lives, which he promised we should have, telling us not to fear.

"In the mean time the ship lost her rudder, and with it

part of the stern-post, and having beat over the reef between 11 and 12 P.M., she was brought up in fifteen fathoms water with both anchors, and the first news was, 'nine feet of water in the hold!' Coleman, Norman, and M'Intosh were ordered out of the box to the pumps, and the boats were got out. As soon as Captain Edwards was informed that we had broken our irons, he ordered us to be handcuffed and leg-ironed again with all the irons that could be mustered, though we begged for mercy, and desired leave to go to the pumps, but to no purpose. His orders were put into execution, though the water in the hold had increased to eleven feet, and one of the chain-pumps was broken. The master-at-arms and corporal were now armed with a brace of pistols each, and placed as additional sentinels over us, with orders to fire among us if we made any motion. The master-at-arms told us that the captain had said he would either shoot or hang to the yard-arm those who should make any further attempt to break the irons. There was no remedy but prayer, as we expected never to see daylight, and having recommended ourselves to Almighty protection, we lay down, and seemed for a while to forget our miserable situation. We could hear the officers busy getting their things into the boats, which were hauled under the stern for that purpose, and heard some of the men on deck say, 'They shall not go without us.' This made some of us start, and, moving the irons, the master-at-arms said, 'Fire upon the rascals.' As he was just then over the scuttle I spoke to him, and said, 'For God's sake, don't fire! what is the matter? there is no one here moving.' In a few minutes after, one of the boats broke adrift, and having but two men in her, she could not reach the ship again till another was sent with hands to bring her back. And now we began to think they would set off together, as it was but natural to suppose that every one would first think of saving his own life. However, they returned, and were secured with better warps.

"We learnt that, the boom being cut loose for the pur-

pose of making a raft, one of the topmasts fell into the waist, and killed a man, who was busy heaving the guns overboard; and every thing seemed to be in great confusion. At daylight, August 29th, the boats were hauled up, and most of the officers being aft on the top of the 'box,' we observed that they were armed, and preparing to go into the boats by the stern ladders. We begged that we might not be forgotten, when, by Captain Edwards's order, Joseph Hodges, the armorer's mate, was sent down to take the irons off Muspratt and Skinner, and send them and Byrne (who was then out of irons) up; but Skinner, being too eager to get out, was hauled up with his handcuffs on, and the other two following him close, the scuttle was shut and barred before Hodges could get to it, and he in the mean time knocked off my hand-irons and Stewart's. I begged of the master-at-arms to leave the scuttle open, when he answered, 'Never fear, my boys, we will all go down together.' The words were scarcely out of his mouth when the ship took a sally, and a general cry of 'There she goes!' was heard. The master-at-arms and corporal, with the sentinels, rolled overboard, and at the same instant we saw through the stern-port Captain Edwards swimming to the pinnace, which was some distance astern, as were all the boats, which had pushed off on the first appearance of a motion in the ship. Birkett and Heildbrandt were yet handcuffed, and the ship under water as far as the mainmast. It was now beginning to flow in upon us, when Divine Providence directed James Moulter (boatswain's mate) to the place. He was scrambling up on the 'box,' and, hearing our cries, said, 'he would either set us free, or go to the bottom with us,' and took out the bolts, throwing them and the scuttle overboard, such was his presence of mind, though he was forced to follow instantly, as he was nearly drowning.

"So we all got out except Heildbrandt, and were rejoiced even in this trying scene to think that we had escaped from our prison, though it was full as much as I

could do to clear myself of the driver-boom before the ship sank. The boats were so far off that we could not distinguish one from the other; however, observing one of the gangways come up, I swam to it, and had scarcely reached it, before I perceived Muspratt on the other end, whom it had brought up; but it having fallen on the heads of several others, sent them to the bottom. Here I began to get ready for swimming, and the top of our prison having floated, I observed on it Mr. P. Heywood (who had been the last but three to jump overboard), Birkett, Coleman, and the first lieutenant of the ship; and, seeing Mr. Heywood take a short plank and set off to one of the boats,* I resolved to follow him, which I did by means of another short plank. After having been about an hour and a half in the water, I reached the blue yawl, and was taken up by Mr. Bowling, master's mate, who had also taken up Mr. Heywood. After rescuing several others, we were landed on a small sandy key,† on the reef about two and a half or three miles from the ship. Here we soon found that four of our fellow-prisoners were drowned, Skinner and Heildbrandt, who had their handcuffs on, and Stewart and Sumner, who were struck by the gangway. Birkett being landed with his handcuffs on, the captain ordered them to be taken off. We also heard that thirty-one of the Pandora's ship's company were lost, among whom were the master-at-arms and ship's corporal, but all the officers were saved.

"A tent was now erected for the officers, and another for the men, but we were not suffered to come near either. The captain had told us that we should be treated as well as the ship's company; but on our requesting him to give us a spare boat's sail to shelter us from the sun, as we had but scanty clothing, it was refused, though no use was made of it; and we were ordered to keep on a part of the

* The only thing he preserved on this occasion was his prayer-book, the last gift of his mother, which he carried between his teeth.

† See illustrations, chapter vi.

islet by ourselves, to windward of the tents, not being suffered to speak to any person but each other. The provision saved being very small, this day's allowance was only two musket-balls' weight of bread, and a glass of wine; the water being but a small quantity, none could be afforded us.

"We staid here till Wednesday morning, the 31st of August, 1791, fitting the boats, during which time the sun took such an effect on us—as we had been cooped up for five months—that we had our skin flayed off from head to foot. We kept ourselves covered in the sand during the heat of the day, this being all the shelter that the island afforded, for it was only a small bank washed up on the reef, scarcely one hundred and fifty yards in circuit, and not more than six feet above the level at high water. During the night, as we found the air very chilly, and having no covering, we threw up a bank of sand to sleep under the lee of, which proved but an indifferent barrier, as we had frequent showers of rain, sufficient to make our lodging very miserable, though not sufficient to save any to allay our thirst, which was very great. We tried for water, but found none, and Mr. Corner, making a fire, got a copper kettle, which he filled with salt-water, made it boil, and attended to it all night, saving the drops of steam condensed in the cover, which he put into a cup, till a spoonful was mustered.

"One of the Pandora's people (named Connell) went out of his senses from drinking salt-water.

"On the 30th the master went with a boat to the wreck, to see if any thing had come up, the topmast heads being out of water, the top-gallant masts struck. He returned with part of the top-gallant masts, which he sawed off to get clear of the cap, and with a cat which he found sitting on the cross-trees. One of the ship's buoys drifted past, but it was not thought worth going after, though we had no vessel to contain water when we should find it.

"The boats being ready on the 31st, at 10 A.M., we embarked in the following manner: M'Intosh, Ellison, and

myself in the pinnace, with Captain Edwards, Lieutenant Hayward, and nineteen officers and men, making her complement twenty-four. In the launch Peter Heywood, Joseph Coleman, and Michael Byrne, with Lieutenant Corner and twenty-seven officers and men—her complement, thirty-one. And in the blue yawl, Norman and Muspratt, with the master and nineteen officers and men; making ninety-nine souls in all. In this situation we had a passage of between four and five hundred leagues to run before we could reach the Dutch settlement on Timor; with the scanty allowance of two musket-balls' weight of bread, and hardly a gill of water and wine together for twenty-four hours under a scorching sun. This slender allowance of food and water was always served out at noon."

One of the men in the launch with Peter Heywood had tied round his waist, when he left the Pandora, a bag of dollars—his small savings. He suffered from intense thirst more than the rest, and offered the dollars to the companion seated next to him on condition that he would give up the wine-glassful of wine and water about to be served out to him. The man looked at the dollars, then at the glass which the owner of the dollars was ready to seize, and throwing the bag back to him, exclaimed, "They are not worth to me this draught of water." Peter Heywood was wont to say that this incident taught him a valuable lesson as to the just value of things in this world.

On account of their intense thirst they all felt incapable of partaking of the small portion of biscuit served out daily to each person. At various places on the coast of New Holland they tried in vain to find water, and where small supplies might have been obtained, the natives opposed their landing so fiercely that they were obliged to keep off the coast, as they were too weak to contend with them. At a small uninhabited island in the vicinity an ample quantity of water was obtained by digging, but they had

nothing to carry it in except their boots and some tarpaulin bags. These contained but two hundred gallons to supply ninety-nine people for fourteen days—the earliest date at which they could reach the Island of Timor. To recur to the journal:

"On the 9th of September," writes Morrison, "as I was lying on the oars talking to M'Intosh, Captain Edwards ordered me aft, and without assigning any cause ordered me to be pinioned with a cord, and lashed down in the bottom of the boat, and Ellison, who was asleep there, was ordered the same punishment. I attempted to reason, and inquired what I had now done to be thus cruelly treated, urging the distressed condition of all, but received for answer, "Silence, you —— villain, are you not a prisoner? You piratical dog! what do you expect?" I then told him that it was a disgrace to the captain of a man-of-war to treat a prisoner in such an inhuman manner, upon which he started up in a violent rage, and snatching a pistol which lay in the stern-sheets, threatened to shoot me. I still attempted to speak, upon which he swore, 'If you speak another word I'll heave the log at you!' and finding that he would hear no reason, and my mouth being parched so that I could scarcely move my tongue, I was forced to be silent and submit, and was tied down so that I could not move.

"In this miserable situation Ellison and I remained for the rest of the passage, nor was M'Intosh suffered to come near or speak to either of us. However, we made ourselves as easy as we could, and on the 15th we made the Island of Timor, where the boats separated, and stood in for the land; having had a fine breeze and fair weather all the way.

"We tried for water at several places, but could find none till the 16th of September, in the morning, when we discovered it near the beach. Here the launch joined us again, and we proceeded in company. We reached Coupang at midnight, and came to a grapnel off the fort till

morning. We found a ship in the roads, and a number of small craft, and at six in the morning the captain went on shore to the governor. About ten we were landed, and conducted by a guard to the governor's house, and from thence to the castle, where, notwithstanding our weak condition, we were put in the stocks in the guard-room.

"On the 19th the yawls arrived, and we were joined by our fellow-prisoners, whose treatment had been better, but their fare the same."

They remained a week in this dirty cell, at the end of which the Dutch military surgeon paid them a visit, but he was unable to enter until the slaves had washed it, a luxury which was fully appreciated. He also gave an order that the irons should be taken off, and their legs only linked together.

"We remained here till the 5th of October," says the journalist, "when we were removed on board the Rembang, a Dutch ship, then in the roads, and Mr. Larkin being the officer on this duty, coming to the prison with a guard, with cords for the purpose, pinioned us with his own hands, setting his foot against our backs, and bracing our arms together so as almost to haul them out of the sockets. We were tied two and two by the elbows, and, having our irons knocked off, were conducted to the beach and put on board a long-boat, to proceed to the ship. Before we reached her some of us fainted, owing to the circulation being stopped by the lashings. When we got on board we were put both legs in irons, and our lashings taken off."

The old Rembang was terribly leaky, and only kept from foundering by the pumps going night and day. At first this work was performed by the prisoners in turn, but in their weakly condition it was found necessary to remit this hard labor, and they were again put in irons.

After a tedious and dangerous voyage the ship arrived

at Samarang, in the Island of Java, on the 30th of October. Here they found the missing schooner, the Resolution, which had arrived six weeks previously, her crew having suffered similar privations to those who were shipwrecked in the Pandora. It was a joyful meeting with their former shipmates, as they had been given up for lost. Captain Edwards ordered her to be refitted and provisioned, to accompany him and the same unseaworthy ship to Batavia. The weather proving very tempestuous, he was obliged to take the command for the general safety, the Dutch captain not appearing equal to the task.

On the 7th of November, after a passage of thirty-three days, they reached Batavia. The prisoners were transferred on board an old hulk in the harbor, and were permitted to come up on deck one at a time to perform their short toilet of shaving and washing, an indulgence which they had been denied during so many months. Here Captain Edwards, wishing to make some acknowledgment to the Dutch governor, sold the Resolution for that purpose, and presented him with a sum of money, distributing the remainder among the Pandora's people.* This money enabled them to purchase Nankeen cloth, and they employed some of the prisoners to make up suits of clothes, paying them for this work. The prisoners were thus enabled to purchase clothes for themselves. Peter Heywood was an expert straw-plaiter, and manufactured hats very neatly, for which he was paid half a crown each; but Captain Edwards at last forbade these occupations—which were

* She was afterwards employed in the sea-otter trade, and made the speediest voyage on record between China and the Sandwich Islands. Subsequently she was purchased by Captain Broughton at Canton, for the purpose of surveying the coast of Tartary, and was the means of preserving the crew of H.M.S. Providence, one hundred and twelve in number, when wrecked in 1797 off the Island of Formosa.

also of use in relieving the tedium of imprisonment—and again ordered on the dreaded manacles.

The prisoners all bore grateful testimony to the kind treatment of the Dutch governor, in whose custody they did not endure the severities or the privations which they had suffered while under the charge of Captain Edwards, a British commander.

From Batavia Peter Heywood wrote to his mother as follows:

"Batavia, November 20th, 1791.

"My ever honored and dearest Mother,—At length the time has arrived when you are once more to hear from your ill-fated son, whose conduct at the capture of that ship in which it was my fortune to embark has, I fear, from what has since happened to me, been grossly misrepresented to you by Lieutenant Bligh, who, from not knowing the real cause of my remaining on board, naturally suspected me—unhappily for me—to be an accomplice in the mutiny. I never, to my knowledge, whilst under his command, behaved myself in a manner unbecoming the station I occupied, nor so much as entertained a thought derogatory to his honor, so as to give him the least grounds for entertaining an opinion of me so ungenerous and undeserved; and I flatter myself he can not give a character of my conduct whilst I was under his tuition that could not bear the strictest scrutiny. Oh! my dearest mother, I hope you have not so easily credited such an account of me; do but let me vindicate my conduct, and declare to you the true cause of my remaining in the ship, and you will then see how little I deserve censure, and how I have been injured by so gross an aspersion. I shall then give you a short and cursory account of what has happened to me since; though I am afraid to say a hundredth part of what I have got in store, for I am not allowed the use of writing-materials if known, so that this is done by stealth; but if it should ever come to your hands, it will, I hope, have the desired effect of removing your uneasiness on my

account, when I assure you, before the face of God, of my innocence of what is laid to my charge.

"All, my dearest mother, was owing to my youth and unadvised inexperience, but has been interpreted into villainy and disregard of my country's laws, the ill effects of which I at present suffer, and am to labor under for some months longer. And now, after what I have asserted, I may still once more retrieve my injured reputation, be again reinstated in the affection and favor of the most tender of mothers, and be still considered as her dutiful son.

"My sufferings I have not power to describe; but though they are great, yet I thank God for enabling me to bear them without repining. I endeavor to qualify my affliction with these three considerations: first, my innocence not deserving them; secondly, that they can not last long; and thirdly, that the change may be for the better. The first improves my hopes, the second my patience, and the third my courage. I am young in years, but old in what the world calls adversity; and it has had such an effect as to make me consider it the most beneficial incident that could have occurred at my age. It has made me acquainted with three things which are little known, and as little believed by any but those who have felt their effects: first, the villainy and censoriousness of mankind; secondly, the futility of all human hopes; and thirdly, the happiness of being content in whatever station it may please Providence to place me. In short, it has made me more of a philosopher than many years of a life spent in ease and pleasure would have done.

"As they will, no doubt, proceed to the greatest lengths against me, I being the only surviving officer, and they most inclined to believe a prior story, all that can be said to confute it will probably be looked upon as mere falsity and invention. Should that be my unhappy case, and they resolved upon my destruction as an example to futurity, may God enable me to bear my fate with the fortitude of a man, conscious that misfortune, not any miscon-

duct, is the cause, and that the Almighty can attest my innocence. Yet, why should I despond? I have, I hope, still a friend in that Providence which hath preserved me amidst many greater dangers, and upon whom alone I now depend for safety. God will always protect those who deserve it. These are the sole considerations which have enabled me to make myself easy and content under my past misfortunes. Your most dutiful and ever obedient son, PETER HEYWOOD."

Three Dutch ships were hired to convey the Pandora's ship's company and the prisoners to the Cape of Good Hope. The latter were confined between decks, and were again compelled to sleep on bare planks; and the Dutch purser contriving that rations even insufficient for fourteen days should last sixteen, they were half-starved. The deck being very leaky, they were alternately drenched with rain or salt-water, as the vessel rolled terribly.

On the 15th of January, 1792, they reached the Cape of Good Hope, and the prisoners were transferred to H.M.S. Gorgon. In the absence of Captain Parker, who commanded her, the first lieutenant, Mr. Gardner, received them with much kindness. They were only chained by one leg, and Morrison remarks, "Mr. Gardner very humanely gave us a sail to lie upon, a luxury we had not enjoyed for twelve months." They were also allowed to sit on deck for six or eight hours a day, to enjoy the fresh air.

They continued at the Cape until the 5th of April, when the Gorgon was ordered to England, and Captain Edwards took his passage in her, with a few of the Pandora's crew and the prisoners. On this voyage they were received with due consideration, as persons who were awaiting their trial. Captain Edwards, on the contrary, neglecting the rules prescribed by law, had treated them

as condemned criminals; and, even granting they were so, his conduct was not only a disgrace to the service, but to common humanity.

On the 19th of June, 1792, the Gorgon anchored at Spithead. A few days afterwards an order was sent down to transfer the prisoners on board the Hector, commanded by Captain (afterwards Sir George) Montague, who was a gallant officer and gentleman. By himself and his officers they were treated in the most courteous and considerate manner, every indulgence being allowed them compatible with their position and safe custody.

Four years and four months had thus elapsed since these people left England in the Bounty, with happy prospects and expectations. Fifteen months of that time they had been principally in irons, and enduring many privations and much needless suffering; yet the health of several continued good throughout, and none died from sickness, while of the Pandora's people many suffered from fever, and several died.

In a letter from Peter Heywood to his mother he says: "During nearly eighteen months of my imprisonment, my health has been excellent, thank God! notwithstanding my anxieties and sufferings, and I have grown two inches." At this period he was barely nineteen. In another letter he mentions that the suit of clothes in which he appeared on board the Hector was made by his companions in misfortune, and paid for with the money he received for manufacturing straw hats.

There was a very general feeling that Captain Edwards had treated the prisoners with unnecessary severity. When he was appointed to the Pandora his orders were to go to the South Seas, in search of the Bounty, and the remainder of her officers and crew, and to bring them in *safe custody* to England, but he was not commanded to

treat them with cruelty and ignominy. Captain Edwards, like Lieutenant Bligh, was of a harsh, unfeeling nature, but it is one of the happy marks of progress in this latter half of the nineteenth century, that the service of the Royal Navy can not now be carried on as it was seventy years since. No captain of a ship of war can place a seaman in irons, or punish him from mere caprice or ill-humor. A warrant must be drawn up previous to punishment; twenty-four hours must elapse between the committal of an offense and the infliction of punishment, and all the particulars, with the amount of punishment, must be stated in writing, signed by the captain, and transmitted with other returns to the Admiralty. Scenes which were disgraceful to common humanity, and in which our seamen were subjected to the most cruel sufferings, are now happily unknown, and placed beyond the possibility of recurrence. Barbarity and ill-usage have thus given place to kindliness and good-will, and service in the Royal Navy is sought for in these days, instead of being shunned and detested as in former times. But there is no doubt that the farther we look back into the practices of former years, the greater are the cruelties we find sanctioned by severe and barbarous laws.

CHAPTER VI.

Consequences of the Mutiny.—Correspondence previous to the Court-martial.

The consequences of the mutiny were as unhappy as its design was criminal. The sufferings of Lieutenant Bligh and his companions on the boat-voyage have been already narrated. The accomplishment of such an unprecedented passage of three thousand miles across an open sea must have been both severe and perilous.

Then followed the search for the officers and crew of the Bounty who had remained in her, the miseries of those incarcerated on board the Pandora, and finally the total wreck of that ship, in which thirty of her crew and four of the prisoners perished. Sad as were these events in themselves, they appear more so when we reflect on the amount of affliction which they must have caused in the homes of bereaved relatives and friends. How many a wife and mother was destined to regard the Bounty as a source of sorrow too deep for utterance! But still the Nemesis of this daring crime was not yet appeased, and perhaps one of the saddest results was that it confounded the innocent with the guilty, and caused those who were powerless to resist to be viewed as sympathizing with its perpetrators.

Peter Heywood was among those who suffered from this false suspicion, and we shall commence this painful subject with a letter from Mr. Hallett (who had been midshipman on board the Bounty), in reply to one from Miss Nessy Heywood,* sister of Peter.

* See chap. i., p. 21.

"Savage, Lochryan, 29th of March, 1792.

"Madam,—Your affecting letter, dated February 12th, did not come to hand till the 15th of this month, which I take the earliest opportunity of answering, and assure you that I sympathize strongly in your grief, and will, as far as in me lies, answer your different interrogations. I shall begin with saying that before the unfortunate period at which the mutiny in the Bounty took place, the conduct of your brother was such as to have procured him an universal esteem; but what were the unpropitious motives by which he was actuated to side with the criminal party I am totally ignorant of, nor can I (as you may readily conceive it was a time of *great confusion* among us) declare positively the part he acted in it. Should I ever be called upon to give my evidence—which you must be sensible will be a distressing thing for a person of any feeling to give, against those with whom he has formerly lived in habits of intimacy—notwithstanding the friendship I had for your brother, I shall be strictly bound by oath to adhere to truth, though I hope, if ever a trial should take place, that the consideration of his youth at the time he committed the rash act will plead with the jury in his favor. I am, madam, your most obedient humble servant, John Hallett."

Captain Pasley* to his niece, Miss N. Heywood (who

* Captain Pasley had been lieutenant on board one of the English frigates under the command of Admiral Elliott, when an engagement took place in Ramsay Bay, Isle of Man, in which the French, under Admiral Thurot, were defeated. A mound on a promontory which stretches into the bay covers the remains of the French sailors who were interred there, and is a trophy of English valor and prowess. It may be imagined how much the officers and crews of the victorious ships were fêted throughout the island. On one of these occasions, Lieutenant Pasley met Mr. Heywood of the Nunnery, with one of his beautiful sisters, a lady whom he greatly admired, and soon afterwards married. This excellent officer, being in constant employment, speedily attained the rank of post-captain, and commanded the Bellerophon in the action of June 1st under Earl Howe. She suffered in the engagement, lost many men, and her gallant command-

had written to him in great anxiety as to her brother's position).

"Sheerness, June 8th, 1792.

"Would to God, my dearest Nessy, that I could rejoice with you on the early prospect of your brother's arrival in England! One division of the Pandora's people is arrived, and are now on board the Vengeance (my ship). Captain Edwards, with the remainder, and all the prisoners late of the Bounty, in number ten (four having been drowned on the loss of that ship), are daily expected. They have been most rigorously and closely confined since taken, and will continue so, I have no doubt, till Bligh's arrival. You have no chance of seeing him, for no bail can be offered. Your intelligence of his swimming off, on the Pandora's arrival, is unfounded—a man of the name of Coleman came off as she anchored; your brother and Mr. Stewart next day. This last youth, when the Pandora was lost, refused to allow his irons to be taken off to save his life. I can not conceal it from you, my dearest Nessy, neither is it proper I should, that your brother appears by all accounts to be the greatest culprit of all, Christian alone excepted. Every exertion, you may rest assured, I shall use to save his life; but on trial I have no hope of his not being condemned. Three of the ten who are expected are mentioned in Bligh's narrative as men detained against their inclination; would to God your brother had been of that number!

"I will not distress you more by enlarging on this subject; as intelligence arises on their arrival you shall be

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er had his leg shot off. On the return of the victorious fleet to Spithead, the king and royal family went down to Portsmouth to inspect the victorious ships. Honors on this occasion were conferred on the most distinguished officers, and among them Captain Pasley was created a baronet. He had only two daughters, and on account of his services, as well as the importance of the event, the king was pleased to grant his request that the title should descend in the female line. He was grandfather of Admiral Sir Thomas Sabine Pasley, Bart., late commander-in-chief at Portsmouth.

made acquainted. Adieu! my dearest Nessy; present my affectionate remembrance to your mother and sisters, and believe me always, with the warmest affection,

"Your uncle, THOS. PASLEY."

Immediately on his arrival Peter Heywood wrote to his mother and sisters; and in a letter to Richard Betham, Esq.* (a friend of the family) he expresses himself as follows:

"Gorgon, Spithead, June 20th, 1792.

"HONORED SIR,—Impressed with a high sense of gratitude for your former kindness to me, I think it is a duty incumbent on me to make you acquainted with my arrival here on the 19th instant, a prisoner on board H.M.S. Gorgon from the Cape of Good Hope. Alas! dear sir, how unfortunate hath that voyage been to me, the prospects of which appeared so promising when your goodness was the means of placing me under the care and protection of Mr. Bligh. I fear he, upon his arrival in England, put a misconstruction on my conduct when that unhappy mutiny happened; to which misrepresentation I must attribute my severe and undeserved confinement. I have already, in a letter to my widowed mother from Batavia, fully explained my conduct on that day, and my reasons for it, which I hope she has communicated to you; but lest she may have omitted that point, or that the letter may by any means have miscarried, I shall again, sir, give you a short sketch of it, and sincerely hope it may be the means of eradicating from the minds of all my friends any undeserved ill-opinion they may have conceived of me, and of reinstating me in their wonted favor and esteem, the loss of which would equal death. (He then proceeds with an account similar to that already given in his letter from Batavia, down to the time of Bligh's leaving the ship.)

"Thus, my dear sir, you may suppose my conduct must

* A relative of Mrs. Bligh's.

have appeared unaccountable to Mr. Bligh, who naturally imagined me to be a coadjutor in the mutiny; but alas! God, who knows the integrity of my heart, can judge how little I have deserved that aspersion, and how undeservedly I am now suffering this close confinement.

"I have only to add that I got ashore at Tahiti as soon as it was in my power, and when I had permission; and after being about nineteen months there, on the 26th of March, 1791, on the arrival of H.M.S. Pandora, I immediately went on board, and made my case known to Captain Edwards, who made me a prisoner, and such I have continued to the present hour.

"On the loss of the Pandora, on the 29th of August, I narrowly escaped shipwreck; and again in a Dutch Indiaman. My sufferings have been great; but that Providence which hath ever protected me, and on whom alone I rely for succor, will to the innocent still continue his protection.

"Believe me, sir, this is the true cause of my remaining on board the Bounty, and my thoughts that Captain Bligh hath misrepresented me, arise only from my being kept so close a prisoner, and not from any consciousness that I ever deserved even to be suspected of so heinous a crime; but I still flatter myself that he can have said none other of me than that I was always dutiful to him and all my superior officers, and ever delighted and obedient in executing any duty imposed on me. Therefore, may I hope, dear sir, that this may serve to turn your censure of me (if any has yet taken place) into pity for my youth, inexperience, and misfortunes; and once more be assured I have done my duty, both to my Maker and mankind.

"With the most profound respect, believe me, my dear and honored sir, your ever dutiful and most obliged, but unhappy servant, PETER HEYWOOD.

"P.S.—May I beg of you, sir, to favor my dear unhappy mother with a sight of this letter? and if you will honor me with a line of comfort, let it be conveyed to me through

her hands, as I have given her precautions relative to my present situation."*

The first letters he received after his arrival at Portsmouth were from his mother and sisters, dated as follows:

MRS. HEYWOOD *to* PETER HEYWOOD.

"Isle of Man, June 29th, 1792.

"Oh, my ever dearly beloved and long-lost son, with what anxiety have I waited for this period! I have counted the days, hours, and even minutes, since I first heard of the horrid and unfortunate mutiny, which has so long deprived me of my dearest boy; but now the happy time is come—and I can not have the unspeakable pleasure of seeing and embracing you, yet I hope we may be allowed to correspond. Surely there can be nothing improper in a liberty of this sort between an affectionate mother and her dutiful and beloved son, who, I am perfectly convinced, was never guilty of the crime he has been suspected of by those who did not know his worth and truth; and I have not the least doubt but that Divine and All-gracious God, who of his providence has protected you so long, and brought you safe through so many dangers and difficulties, will still protect you, and make your innocence appear at your trial as clear as the light.

"All your letters have come safe to me and my very dear good Nessy. Ah, Peter, with what real joy did we all receive them, and how happy are we that you are now safe in England! I will endeavor, my dearest lad, to make your present situation as comfortable as possible, for so affectionate and good a son deserves my utmost attention. Nessy has written to our faithful and kind friend Mr. Heywood, of Plymouth, for his advice, whether it would be proper for her to come up to you. Your uncle Pasley approves of it, provided he does; and I hope we shall have his answer by the next packet. If he consents to her do-

* His letters had to be read by an officer before he received them.

ing so, not a moment shall be lost; and how happy shall I be when she is with you—such a sister as she is. Oh, Peter, she is an invaluable girl! What comfort will she give you, and how will she lessen the many tedious hours you must, I fear, pass in your confinement! But keep up your spirits, my charming boy, take care of your health, which is so dear to me, and put your full trust in that Supreme Being who never has, nor ever will forsake you.

"I will not tell you the grief and anguish I and all your brothers and sisters felt when we first heard of the horrid mutiny, and that you were not returned. It was a sorrowful time, indeed; but we had a full confidence in your innocence, knowing so well the perfect goodness of your heart, morals, and disposition. Every interest possible we have made. I have desired Mr. Heywood to remit you money for whatever you want, and I shall, by the first opportunity from this, send you the various articles you require.

"My good Birkett* is very well, and says your safe return has made her more happy than she has been for the two and forty years passed in our family. Oh, happy, happy day when you shall arrive home! With what pleasure do I look forward to it, after all your sufferings!

"As Nessy writes, I will leave her to tell you all that I have omitted; but let me not forget to say how grateful I am to those young men who on your voyage home so kindly supplied you with the little necessaries they could spare.

"May the Almighty still protect and bless my dearest boy, is the continual prayer of your most affectionate mother, ELIZABETH HEYWOOD."

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* Betty Birkett had been, when a girl, received into Mr. Spedding's family as the personal attendant of his daughter Elizabeth; and upon her marriage with Mr. Heywood, Betty accompanied her young mistress to the Isle of Man, became the nurse of her children, and the faithful and devoted friend of Mrs. Heywood's declining years.

NESSY HEYWOOD *to* PETER HEYWOOD.

"MY DEAREST AND MOST BELOVED BROTHER,—Thanks to that Almighty Providence which has so miraculously preserved you, your fond, anxious, and till now miserable Nessy, is at last permitted to address the object of her tenderest affection, in England! Oh, my admirable, my honest boy, what have we felt on your account! yet how small, how infinitely trifling seems the misery of our situation when compared with the horrors of yours! Let me now, however, with confidence hope that the God of all mercies has not so long protected you in vain, but will at length crown your fortitude and pious resignation to his will, with that peace and happiness which you so richly merit. How blest did your delightful (and yet, I will add), dreadful letter from Batavia make us all! yet, believe me, it was in some degree fortunate that it arrived by the packet before last, for the apprehensions we then felt for your health and safety were almost insupportable. Alas! I think I could scarcely have borne them another week. Providentially, however, your two other letters (mentioning your arrival in England) came by the last packet to relieve our fears, and render you, if that were possible, more dear to us than ever. So well did we know your amiable steady principles, that we were assured your reasons for staying behind would be exactly what you represent them; and I firmly trust that Providence will at length restore you to those dear and affectionate friends who can know no happiness till they are blest with your loved society. Take care of your precious health. Alas! you say you are weakly, and I fear it is but too true; but I shall, I hope, soon be with you. I have written to Mr. Heywood (your and our excellent friend and protector) for his permission to go to you immediately, which my uncle Heywood, without first obtaining it, would not allow, fearing any precipitate step should injure you at present. I only wait the moment I may fly to you. Your most affectionate and admiring sister, NESSY HEYWOOD.

"P.S.—Mr. Bligh is gone to the South Seas; but we must hope the best. Dr. Scott, my dearest brother, is on this and every other occasion respecting you a second father; his attention is beyond any thing, and his anxiety greater than I can express; but Mary is impatient to scribble a little."

Commodore Pasley *to* Peter Heywood.

"Sheerness, July 6th, 1792.

"My dear Peter,—Captain Montague writes me that he has delivered a memorial from you to the Lords of the Admiralty. Mr. Delafons, my particular friend, who has been with you, is a very sensible, judicious man. Consult him on every step you take, as no person can be a better judge of the proper mode of defense. I have seen Mr. Fryer, the master, and Cole, the boatswain—both favorable evidences. To-day I set off for Woolwich and Deptford to endeavor to see the gunner and carpenter; and shall try, as I return, to see Hayward and Hallett.

"I have tried to get the rigor of your confinement mitigated, but find that at present nothing can be done as to enlargement. The Admiralty, I find, have laid your cases before the Crown lawyers for their opinion, whether you shall be tried by a naval court-martial or Admiralty Court; but as yet no answer is received. Rest assured of my utmost exertions. Whenever you are tried I shall attend; at present you are surrounded by my friends. Kind compliments to Mr. Delafons. Let him constantly write me how I can serve your cause.

"I am, believe me, with great truth, your affectionate uncle, Thomas Pasley."

Nessy Heywood *to* Peter Heywood.

"My ever dearest Brother,—I have a piece of intelligence for you, my dearest; Mrs. Bertie* (Mr. Heywood's

* Mr. Heywood, of Maristow, near Plymouth, had three daughters, celebrated for their beauty. One became the wife of the Hon. Captain Bertie, R.N., another married Mr. Musters, and the third Mr. Orby Hunter.

daughter) is now at Portsmouth on board the Edgar, which Captain Bertie commands. How I envy her situation in thus being near you! Ah, my dearest Peter, she is an angel of a woman! It is by her kind care and attention that you are furnished with every thing you may have occasion for; and in a most charming letter which my mamma received yesterday, she tells us that she had sent a friend of her own (Mr. Larkham, I suppose) to see you, and assures us that he gave the most favorable account of your looks and health. How exquisitely happy did this account of you make us, and how anxiously shall we wish for a continuance of those blessings to our dear boy! I have not yet had an answer from Mr. Heywood to the letter in which I requested his permission to go to you; but expect it by the next packet.

"If you have received the letters we have already written to you, they will inform you of the situation of our family. Mamma writes next, and we shall, as you desire, forbear to tell you any thing it would be desirable to conceal from the world; though, with respect to yourself, my dear excellent brother, as we are all persuaded of your worth and innocence, we have no secret to hide.

"Farewell, my best brother, may all good angels guard thee! May that beneficent Being, who has hitherto preserved my brother, watch over him still, is the prayer of

"His ever fondly affectionate sister,

"Nessy Heywood."

Peter Heywood *to* Mrs. Heywood.

"H.M.S. Hector, July 12th, 1792.

"My dear and honored Mother,—I have this day, with unspeakable joy, perused your letter and my sister Nessy's of the 29th, for which I had long waited with the most anxious impatience. I am happy to find you have received all my letters, in which I endeavored to relieve my dear mother's mind as much as possible on my account—thanks be to God they have had that effect! I have written two or three from hence, in which you will

find the many marks of kindness and friendship which I have received from Mr. Heywood and my uncle Pasley. I there expressed my desire that none of my relations might come here to see me, as they certainly will not be allowed that privilege, and hope it may have prevented my dearest sister Nessy from proceeding on so long a journey, which I am sure must end in chagrin and disappointment. 'Tis impossible for her to wish more for such an interview than I do, but it can not be; and how disagreeable would she feel her situation on her arrival, unable to see me, the sole object of a long and tedious journey. Patience, therefore, is requisite for a time.

"I have not as yet received the box you were so good as to send me, but it will most likely be here in a day or two. I am sorry, very sorry, to hear that poor little Henry has gone to sea—God help him! He, like me, knew not the troubles he was so soon to encounter—I wish he were safe at home again. I can not tell you how soon my trial may come on; but we must wait with patience and resignation for the time when I shall be freed from the load of infamy I now bear. I have many questions to ask you, but shall be content with my present knowledge till a more favorable opportunity. My best respects to Dr. Scott and all my other friends; and praying that God may preserve the health of my dearest mother,

"I remain your most obedient and dutiful son,

"PETER HEYWOOD."

He wrote at the same time a most affectionate letter to his sister, in which he said:

"Notwithstanding my anxiety to embrace you, nothing, my beloved Nessy, could give me more pain than your arrival here. It is for your own dear sake only, as the disappointment would occasion you a sorrow greater than at present you have any idea of, for you have not experienced the pain of such a restriction. To me, alas! it is quite familiar. I send you two little sketches of the man-

ner in which H.M.S. Pandora went down on the 29th of August, and the appearance we, who survived, made on the small sandy quay within the reef (about ninety yards long and sixty athwart), in all ninety-nine souls.* Here we remained three days, subsisting upon two ounces of bread and a single wine-glass of wine-and-water a day, and no shelter from the meridian (and then vertical) sun. Captain Edwards had tents erected for himself and his people; and we prisoners petitioned him for an old sail which was lying useless, part of the wreck, but, although in the latitude of 11° south, he refused it, and all the shelter we had was to bury ourselves up to the neck in the burning sand, which scorched the skin (we being without clothes) entirely off our bodies, as if we had been dipped in large caldrons of boiling water. We were nineteen days in the same miserable situation before we landed at Coupang. From this you may have some faint idea of our wretched condition. I was in the ship in irons, hands and feet, much longer than till the position you now see her in—the poop alone being above water (and that knee-deep)—when Providence assisted me to get out of irons and from her. With sincere love and duty to my dearest mother,

"Ever your most affectionate brother,

"PETER HEYWOOD."

NESSY HEYWOOD *to* PETER HEYWOOD—(*Extract*).

"Isle of Man, July 22d, 1792.

"I think I have not yet, in any of my letters, my dearest Peter, mentioned one single article of news; indeed I was, and am still, too much interested in *one* subject to think with pleasure on any other; but it is selfish not to consult your gratification as well as my own, and 'tis natural to suppose you must wish to know something of our transactions during your long absence. I shall be sufficiently happy in affording you some amusement, be it ever so trifling. . . . . .

* Drawn by himself, and now engraved for this volume.

DESTRUCTION OF H.M.S. PANDORA.

Daybreak, Aug. 29th, 1791.

ON A SANDY ISLET.

Noon, Aug. 29th, 1791.

"We do not live in the same house as when you left us, but in one Mr. Bacon had on the parade, where we have a fine prospect of the sea, and shall one day, I hope, look with longing eyes towards it for the vessel which will bring our adored Peter. Do you recollect the drawing-room? My organ (upon which I practise with unceasing assiduity, that I may entertain my loved Peter, and which, while sorrowing for his mournful and tedious absence, was my chief amusement and consolation) forms no inconsiderable part of its ornamental furniture; over the mantel-piece hangs your drawing of Nadir Shah, and round the room Mary's and my drawings. How often have I sat for hours in this very room (where I now write) to contemplate that picture, the performance of my dear brother.

"Adieu! my best ever-loved Peter; take care of yourself, and may the God of mercies bless and preserve you from all dangers; may He protect your injured innocence, and soon, very soon restore you to those who love you better than any other earthly being. Mamma, brothers, sisters, and all friends desire to say every thing that love and tenderness can address to you. Keep up your spirits, dear, dear Peter, for the sake of your most fond and faithful sister, NESSIE HEYWOOD."

Extract from a letter of PETER HEYWOOD *to* NESSY HEYWOOD.

"Hector, July 22d, 1792.

"MY BELOVED SISTER,—I am sorry to find that the supposition I had mentioned to my mother in my letter from Batavia, of Captain Bligh's suspecting me to be one of the mutineers, was not groundless. Was my conduct at *any time* such as to give him the smallest reason to distrust my behavior, or even my thoughts? The Omnipotent Searcher of hearts alone can prove it never was! Did he then write to you to that effect? Alas! and had he so mean an opinion of my disposition and morals? But I forgive his cruelty, and may God do the same; yet

I think he might have known me better. Oh, Nessy! how I wish this letter had not come to my hand! That he, the first commander I ever was with, deemed me a *mutineer*. Oh heavens! the thought is almost insupportable! This letter has given me more anxiety than all the numerous and complicated scenes of horror and misery with which I have been familiar, since I was first a prey to misfortune."

In a letter to her brother, dated July 31st, 1792, Nessy Heywood remarks:

"Mr. Bligh has most certainly branded my amiable brother with the vile appellation of *mutineer*, but he has not dared to charge you with any crime that could have authorized such an epithet; on the contrary, he has declared, under his own hand, that he had the highest esteem for you till the fatal moment of the mutiny, and that your conduct during the whole course of the voyage was such as gave him the greatest pleasure and satisfaction. So high, indeed, was the opinion he had of your character and attachment to him, that he told Mr. Wilson in conversation, his greatest hopes of assistance in suppressing the mutiny were from his dependence on your forming a party in his favor; and here I must observe, that his confidence in his other officers must have been very small when (without making any effort himself, *except by words*, even when he was in the boat and his hands at liberty) he depended on a *boy of seventeen* to be his defender. His cruelty in loading you with so opprobrious an epithet is therefore the more unpardonable, and will, so far from injuring you, my dearest Peter, recoil upon himself; and if he has any feeling, it must distress him much."

PETER HEYWOOD *to* MRS. HEYWOOD.

"Hector, August 9th, 1792.

"MY DEAREST MOTHER, — I have just received yours of the 31st, and yesterday the parcel, for the contents of which accept my best thanks.

"I hear the fleet is now on its passage from Torbay, so that the time appointed for the trial will not, I hope, be much longer protracted. I have, by Mrs. Bertie's direction, ordered a suit of uniform for that occasion, which I shall wear with a crape round my arm, as a respect due to the memory of the best of parents,* whose death I have lamented with the most poignant grief, and whose loss I shall ever remember with the truest sentiments of duty and filial affection.

"Oh! my dearest mother, with what pleasure did I yesterday peruse the poetry† written by my dear Nessy, dictated by a heart so generous and sympathetic.

"I have little more to add, than to entreat you to main-

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* His father, whose death has been mentioned.

† On the tedious and mournful absence of a most beloved brother who was in the Bounty with Captain Bligh at the time of the fatal mutiny, which happened April 28th, 1789, in the South Seas, and who, instead of returning with the boat when she left the ship, remained behind.

"Tell me, thou busy fluttering tell-tale, why,
Why flow these tears, why heaves this deep-felt sigh?
Why is all joy from my sad bosom flown?
Why lost that cheerfulness I thought my own?
When every hour in joy and gladness passed,
And each new day shone brighter than the last;
When in society I loved to join,
When to enjoy, and give delight was mine.
Now, sad reverse! in sorrow wakes each day,
And grief's sad tones inspire each plaintive lay.
Thou best of brothers—friend, companion, guide,
Joy of my youth, my honor, and my pride;
Lost is all peace, all happiness to me,
And fled all comfort, since deprived of thee.
Indulgent Heaven! in pity to our tears,
Vouchsafe to bless a parent's sinking years.
Again shall I behold thy much-loved face,
By manhood formed with every ripen'd grace;
Again shall press thee to my anxious breast,
And every sorrow shall be hush'd to rest.
Thy presence only can each comfort give,
Come then, my Lycidas, and let me live:
Life without thee is but a wretched load,
Thy love alone can smooth the thorny road.
But, blest with thee, how light were every woe,
How would my soul with love and rapture glow!
Kind Heaven! Thou hast one happiness in store,
Bestow him *innocent*—I ask no more."

tain serenity of mind by the assurance that I am as content as can be expected, and am ever my dearest mother's most dutiful and affectionate son,

"PETER HEYWOOD."

PETER HEYWOOD *to* NESSY HEYWOOD.

"Hector, August 9th, 1792.

"MY DEAREST NESSY,—I have sent you some of the *sublime*. Don't exert your risible faculties at my expense; 'tis but an *endeavor* at an art I have scarcely any notion of, and upon a subject I could not describe as it deserved. It happened (which is rather remarkable) on that unfortunate day which deprived us of our most regretted parent. The dream* which occasioned this *poetical attempt* I shall never forget; so powerful was its effect upon my mind. I owe to it all my present serenity, and it was this alone which enabled me to support the many troubles I have had to encounter. I hammered at it while at Tahiti, and after writing it I learnt it by heart, and now you have it from recollection.

"Adieu! my dear girl. I hope you keep up my mother's spirits, for I know you are well qualified to do so. My tenderest love and duty to her, and my beloved brothers and sisters. Your faithfully affectionate brother,

"PETER HEYWOOD."

PETER HEYWOOD *to* MRS. HEYWOOD.

"Hector, August 15th, 1792.

". . . . The question, my dear mother, in one of your letters, concerning my swimming off to the Pandora, is one falsity among the *too many* of which I have often thought of undeceiving you, and as frequently forgot. The story was this: On the morning she arrived, I (accompanied by two of my friends, natives) was going up to the mountains, when, having got about a hundred yards

* This letter contained a poetical version of the dream which is related in chap. v., p. 77,

from my own house, another of my friends (for I was, I may say, a great favorite amongst those Tahitians, and perfectly conversant with their language) came running after me, and informed me that there was a ship coming. I immediately went up on a rising ground and saw with the utmost joy a ship coming into the bay off Hāpīāno (a district two or three miles to windward of Maatavaye, where I lived). It was just after daylight, and thinking Coleman might not be awake, and therefore be ignorant of such pleasing news (living a mile and a half from me), and wishing to give any one such satisfaction as that, I sent one of my servants to inform him of it, upon which he immediately went off in a single canoe. There was a fresh breeze, and the ship working into the bay, he no sooner got alongside than the rippling capsized the canoe; and he being obliged to let go the tow-rope to get her righted, went astern, and was picked up in the canoe next tack, and taken on board the Pandora, he being the first person. I, along with Stewart, was then standing upon the beach, with a double canoe, manned with twelve paddles, ready for launching; therefore, just as she made her last tack into her berth (for we did not think it requisite to go off sooner), we put off, and got alongside just as they streamed the buoy; and being dressed in the country manner, tanned as brown as the natives, and tattooed like them in the most curious manner, I do not in the least wonder at their taking *us* for *natives*. I was tattooed, not to gratify my own desire, but theirs; for it was my constant endeavor to acquiesce in any little custom which I thought would be agreeable to them (though painful in the process), provided I gained by it their friendship and esteem, which you may suppose is no inconsiderable object in an island where the natives are so numerous. The more a man or woman there is tattooed, the more they are respected; and a person who has none of these marks is looked upon as bearing a most repulsive badge of disgrace, and considered as a mere outcast from society. You may suppose, then, that my disposition would not

suffer me to be long out of fashion. I always made it a maxim, "when I was in Rome, to act as Rome did," provided it did not interfere with my morals or religion; and by this means I was a great favorite on shore, and treated with respect by every person on the island, in whose mouths my name ever was an object of their love and esteem. Perhaps you may think I flatter myself,* but I really do not. Adieu! my dearest mother. Believe me your truly dutiful and most obedient son,

"P. Heywood."

Colonel Holwell *to* Peter Heywood.

"South Bro, Sept. 12th, 1792.

"Your last informs me, my dear Peter, that this is to be the awful day which we have no doubt will restore you innocent to society, and to the arms of your disconsolate relations and friends. Nevertheless, your aunt, as well as myself, can not help feeling somewhat *triste* on the approach of this interesting day, not a moment of which shall we cease to implore that Power who has so miraculously preserved you hitherto, to continue His goodness, and support you through the hour of trial. When you are at liberty, I hope you will let us embrace you in your way to the island. Had my health permitted, I should surely have been now with you, and would have brought you to our little cottage. When you have made up your mind, your road lies in this direction.

"Adieu, my dear nephew, in the hope of seeing you soon well and acquitted. I remain, with our united loves, your affectionate uncle and sincere friend,

"J. Holwell."

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* That he did not flatter himself, Captain Bligh's second voyage to Tahiti proves, from the many inquiries the natives made about him of the ship's company, and the great esteem and respect they professed for his character, young as he then was.

CHAPTER VII.

Court-martial.—Correspondence of Members of Peter Heywood's Family.—Acquittal of some of the Crew.—Pardon of Peter Heywood and James Morrison.—Execution of two Prisoners.—Subsequent Career of Captain Bligh and other Officers of the Bounty.—Death of Miss Nessy Heywood.

The court-martial assembled on board H.M. ship Duke, under the presidency of Vice-admiral Lord Hood, and continued from the 12th to the 18th September, Sunday excepted.

The charges set forth were that Fletcher Christian, who was mate of the Bounty, assisted by others of the inferior officers and crew, armed with muskets and bayonets, had violently and forcibly taken that ship from Lieutenant Bligh, and that he, together with the master, boatswain, gunner, and other persons (being nineteen in number), were forced into the launch and cast adrift. It was further set forth that Captain Edwards, in the Pandora, was directed to proceed to Otaheite, and other islands in the South Seas, and to use his best endeavors to recover the said vessel, and to bring in confinement to England the said Fletcher Christian and his associates, or as many of them as he might be able to apprehend, in order that they might be brought to condign punishment, etc.; and that Peter Heywood, James Morrison, Charles Norman, Joseph Coleman, Thomas Ellison, Thomas M'Intosh, Thomas Birkett, John Millward, William Muspratt, and Michael Byrne, had been brought to England, etc., and were now put on their trial.

Mr. Fryer, the master of the Bounty, being first sworn, deposed:

That he had the first watch; that between ten and eleven o'clock Mr. Bligh came on deck, according to custom, and after a short conversation, and having given his orders for the night, left the deck; that at twelve he was relieved by the gunner, and retired, leaving all quiet; that at dawn of day he was greatly alarmed by an unusual noise; and that on attempting to jump up, John Sumner and Matthew Quintal laid their hands upon his breast and desired him to lie still, saying he was their prisoner; that on expostulating with them he was told, "Hold your tongue, or you are a dead man, but if you remain quiet there is none on board will hurt a hair of your head." He further deposed, that on raising himself on the locker, he saw Mr. Bligh, in his shirt, going on deck by the ladder, with his hands tied behind him, and Christian holding him by the cord; that the master-at-arms, Churchill, then came to his cabin and took a brace of pistols and a hanger, saying, "I will take care of these, Mr. Fryer;" that he asked, on seeing Mr. Bligh bound, what they were going to do with the captain: that Sumner replied, "Put him into the boat, and let him see if he can live on three-fourths of a pound of yams a day;" that he remonstrated with such conduct, but in vain. They said he must go in the small cutter. "The small cutter!" Mr. Fryer exclaimed; "why, her bottom is almost out, and very much eaten by the worms!" to which Sumner and Quintal both said, "The boat is too good for him." After much entreaty, he prevailed on them to ask Christian if he might be allowed to go on deck, which, after some hesitation, was granted. "When I came on deck," says Mr. Fryer, "Mr. Bligh was standing by the mizzen-mast with his hands tied behind him, and Christian holding the cord in one hand and a

bayonet in the other. I said, 'Christian, consider what you are about.' 'Hold your tongue, sir,' he said; 'I have been in hell for weeks past; Captain Bligh has brought all this on himself.' I told him that Mr. Bligh and he not agreeing was no reason for taking the ship. 'Hold your tongue, sir,' he said. I said, 'Mr. Christian, you and I have been on friendly terms during the voyage, therefore give me leave to speak. Let Mr. Bligh go down to his cabin, and I make no doubt we shall all be friends again.' He then repeated, 'Hold your tongue, sir; it is too late,' threatening me if I said any thing more." Mr. Fryer then asked him to give a better boat than the cutter; he said, "No, that boat is good enough." Bligh now said to the master that the man behind the hen-coops (Isaac Martin) was his friend, and desired him (the master) to knock Christian down, which Christian must have heard, but took no notice; Fryer then attempted to get past Christian to speak to Martin, but he put his bayonet to his breast, saying, "Sir, if you advance an inch farther I will run you through," and ordered two armed men to take him down to his cabin. Shortly afterwards he was desired to go on deck, when Christian ordered him into the boat. He said, "I will stay if you will give me leave." "No, sir," he replied; "go directly into the boat." Bligh, then on the gangway, said, "Mr. Fryer, stay in the ship." "No," Christian said, "go into the boat, or I will run you through."

Fryer stated that during this time very opprobrious language was used by the people towards Mr. Bligh; that with great difficulty they prevailed on Christian to suffer a few articles to be put into the boat; that, after the persons were put into the boat to the number of nineteen, much violent language continued to be used, several of the men calling out, "Shoot him!" that Cole, the boatswain,

advised they should cast off and take their chance, as the mutineers would certainly do them some mischief if they remained much longer.

Mr. Fryer then stated the names of those who were under arms; and that Joseph Coleman, Thomas M'Intosh, Charles Norman, and Michael Byrne (prisoners) wished to come into the boat, declaring they had nothing to do in the business; and that he did not perceive Mr. Peter Heywood on deck at the seizure of the ship.

On being asked to what he supposed Christian alluded when he said "he had been in hell for a fortnight," he replied, "To the frequent quarrels they had, and the abuse he received from Mr. Bligh, and that the day before the mutiny Mr. Bligh had challenged all the young gentlemen and people with stealing his cocoa-nuts."

Mr. Cole, the boatswain, deposes—that he had the middle watch; was awakened out of his sleep in the morning, and heard a man calling out to the carpenter that they had mutinied and taken the ship, that Christian had the command, and the captain was a prisoner on the quarter-deck; that he went up the hatchway, having seen Mr. Heywood and Mr. Young in the opposite berth; that, coming on deck, he saw the captain with his hands tied behind him, and four sentinels standing over him, two of whom were Ellison and Birkett, the prisoners. He asked Mr. Christian what he meant to do, and was answered by his ordering him to hoist the boat out; that he saw Peter Heywood, one of the prisoners, lending a hand to get the fore-stay fall along, and, when the boat was hooked on, spoke something to him, but what it was does not know, as Christian was threatening him at the time; that Heywood then went below, and does not remember seeing him afterwards.

The Court asked if he had any reason to believe that

any other of the prisoners than those named were detained contrary to their inclinations.

Answer.—"I believe Mr. Heywood was. I thought all along he was intending to come away; he had no arms, and he assisted to get the boat out, and then went below. I heard Churchill call out, 'Keep them below.'"

The Court.—"Do you think he meant Heywood?"

"I have no reason to think any other."

Mr. Peckover the gunner's evidence is similar to that of Mr. Cole's, and need not be detailed.

Mr. Purcell, the carpenter, corroborated generally the testimony of the three who had been examined.

The Court.—"In what light did you look upon Mr. Heywood?"

Witness.—"I looked upon him as a person confused, and that he went below as on his own account, in order to collect some of his things to go in the boat."

The Court.—"In the time that Mr. Heywood was assisting you in getting things into the boat, did he in any degree whatever manifest a disposition to assist in the mutiny?"

Witness.—"No."

The Court.—"Was he during that time deliberate or frightened, and in what manner did he behave himself?"

Witness.—"I had not an opportunity of observing his every action, being at that time engaged in getting several things into the boat, so that I can not tell."

The Court.—"Putting every circumstance together, declare to this court, upon the oath you have taken, how you considered his behavior; whether as a person joined in the mutiny, or as a person wishing well to Captain Bligh?"

Witness.—"I by no means considered him a person concerned in the mutiny or conspiracy."

Lieutenant Thomas Hayward, late third lieutenant of the Bounty, deposed that he had the morning watch; and at four o'clock Fletcher Christian relieved the watch as usual; that at five o'clock he ordered him (as master's mate of the watch) to look out while he went down to lash his hammock up, and that he speedily returned, accompanied by a number of armed men. Christian, with his party, then went below to Lieutenant Bligh's cabin, and they had not been down long before he heard the cry of "Murder!" and that soon after Lieutenant Bligh was brought upon the quarter-deck with his hands bound behind him, surrounded by a crowd of armed men who then thronged the deck.

On this witness stating that when he went below to collect some clothes, he saw Peter Heywood in his berth, and told him to go into the boat, he was asked by the Court if Heywood was prevented by any force from going upon deck: he answered, "No."

The Court.—"Did you, from his behavior, consider him as a person attached to his duty, or to the party of the mutineers?"

Witness.—"I should rather suppose, after my having told him to go into the boat, and he not joining us, to be on the side of the mutineers; but that must be understood only as an opinion, as he did not in the least take an active part."

The Court.—"Did you observe any marks of joy or sorrow in his countenance or behavior?"

Witness.—"Sorrow."

Lieutenant Hallett, late midshipman of the Bounty, on being asked "Whether he saw Peter Heywood on the day of the mutiny?" said, "He saw him once on the platform, standing still and looking attentively towards Captain Bligh; never saw him under arms, nor spoke to him; does

not know if he offered to go in the boat; that, when standing on the platform, Captain Bligh said something to him, but what he did not hear, on which Heywood laughed,* turned round and walked away."

Captain Edwards stated in evidence, that Stewart, Heywood, Coleman, Morrison, Norman, and M'Intosh, voluntarily surrendered themselves on the arrival of the Pandora at Tahiti.

The prisoners being called on for their defense, the witnesses were again called and examined on the part of the prisoners.

Mr. Fryer, the master, called in and examined by

Mr. Heywood.—"If you had been permitted, would you have staid in the ship in preference to going in the boat?"

Witness.—"Yes."

Prisoner.—"Had you staid in the ship in expectation of retaking her, was my conduct such (from the first moment you knew me to this), as would have induced you to intrust me with your design; and do you believe I would have favored it, and given you all the assistance in my power?"

Witness.—"I believe he would; I should not have hesitated a moment in asking him, when I had an opportunity of opening my mind to him."

The same question being put to Mr. Cole, the boatswain, Mr. Peckover, the gunner, and Mr. Purcell, carpenter, they all answered in the affirmative.

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* Lieutenant Bligh's language on this occasion was suffieient to have raised a smile. He told Fryer, the master, to knock Christian down, who was armed with a pistol and bayonet. He also said that Heywood (a boy of seventeen) ought to have raised a party in his favor. Hallett, however (as will afterwards appear), retracted on his death-bed his unfavorable evidence against Heywood.

Mr. Heywood asked, "What was my general conduct, temper, and disposition, on board the ship?"

Witness.—"Beloved by every body, to the best of my recollection." To the same question Mr. Cole answered, "Always a very good character."

Mr. Peckover.—"The most amiable, and deserving of every one's esteem."

Mr. Purcell.—"In every respect becoming the character of a gentleman, and such as merited the esteem of every body."

Mr. Cole being examined, gave his testimony.—"That he never saw Mr. Heywood armed; he did not consider him of the mutineers' party; and saw nothing of levity or apparent merriment in his conduct. That when he was below with Stewart, he heard Churchill call out, 'Keep them below,' and believes that Heywood was one of the persons meant—has no doubt of it at all. That Bligh could not have spoken to him when on the booms loud enough to be heard; that Heywood was alarmed, also Hallett; and he by no means considered Heywood or Morrison mutineers."

Captain Edwards, being asked by Heywood.—"Did I surrender myself to you upon the arrival of the Pandora at Tahiti?"

Witness.—"Not to me, to the lieutenant; I apprehend he put himself in my power. I always understood he came voluntarily; our boats were not in the water."

Prisoner.—"Did I give you such information respecting myself and the Bounty, as afterwards proved true?"

Witness.—"He gave me some information respecting the people on the island that corroborated Coleman's. I do not recollect the particular conversation, but in general it agreed with the account given by Coleman."

Prisoner.—"When I told you that I went away the first time from Tahiti with the mutineers, did I not, at the

same time, inform you that it was impossible for me to separate myself from Christian, who would not permit any of the party to leave him at that time, lest, by giving intelligence, they might have been discovered whenever a ship should arrive?"

Witness.—"Yes, but I do not recollect the latter part of it respecting giving intelligence."

Mr. Fryer, again called in and examined by James Morrison.—"He did not see Morrison armed; he was in his watch, and he considered him a steady, sober, attentive man. He acknowledged that if he had remained in the ship with the view of retaking her, Morrison would have been one of the first he should have called to his assistance."

Mr. Cole gave testimony to his being a man of good character, attentive to his duty, and he never knew any harm of him.

Mr. Purcell bore witness to his good character, being always diligent and attentive; did not see him under arms on the taffrail; never heard him make use of any unbecoming language.

Respecting the prisoner Muspratt, Mr. Cole's evidence proved that he had a musket in his hands, but not till the latter part of the business. It is also proved that he assisted in getting things into the launch. Mr. Peckover saw him standing on the forecastle doing nothing; he was not armed.

Mr. Cole, the boatswain, stated that he ordered Morrison to go and help them with the cutter; that he told them the boat was overloaded; that Captain Bligh had begged that no more people should go in her; that he shook Morrison by the hand and said he would do him justice in England, as he had no reason to suppose him concerned in the mutiny.

Peter Heywood being then called upon by the Court, made his defense, in which he stated generally, that he had never imagined that by remaining in the ship he would lay himself open to a charge of complicity in the mutiny, which from first to last he condemned. Lieutenant Bligh had always treated him with kindness; but it was quite out of the power of a young boy, surrounded by armed men, to make any diversion in his favor, and he could hardly have been blamed had he hesitated about entering a boat which was already within eight inches of the water's edge, and bound on a perilous voyage among islands inhabited by ferocious savages. He had nevertheless determined to risk his life with those who accompanied his commander, and had gone below with Stewart to collect some little necessaries, but was prevented by some of the crew from returning on deck.* He thought Hayward and Hallett had been mistaken in some of the facts, which was very possible, as they were much confused at the time, and nearly four years had since elapsed. No doubt, also, the hardships to which they were exposed in the boat-voyage tended naturally to imbitter their feelings against those who remained behind. He finally observed that he had taken the earliest opportunity of surrendering himself on the arrival of the Pandora, and alluded to the sufferings he had endured on the home voyage, attributing them, however, not so much to any animosity on the part of Captain Edwards as to the imperative exigencies of the service.

James Morrison's defense was very similar to that of Heywood, except that he stated he had agreed to join

* Stewart and Peter Heywood were kept below by the mutineers (which has been mentioned in a former chapter), who thought that if they left there would be no one capable of navigating the ship in the event of any thing happening to Christian.

with Mr. Fryer and Millward in an attempt to retake the ship from the mutineers, but that they were detected and prevented by Churchill and Alexander Smith (John Adams). "Mr. Hayward," he added, "dropped a hint to me that he intended to knock Churchill down. I told him I would second him, pointing to some of the Friendly Island clubs which were sticking in the booms, and saying 'There were tools enough,' but I was suddenly checked by finding that he went into the boat without making the attempt he proposed."

On the 18th of September the trial was concluded, and the Court agreed that the charges had been proved against Peter Heywood, James Morrison, Thomas Ellison, John Millward, Thomas Birkett, and William Muspratt; but the two first were strongly recommended to mercy, as, if not opposing the mutiny, it was clear that they were not actively concerned. Joseph Coleman, M'Intosh, and Byrne were acquitted, as they had the means of proving that they were detained on board against their will.

The following letter was addressed to Dr. Scott of the Isle of Man, the esteemed friend of Mrs. Heywood and her family. It was written by Peter Heywood, after hearing the sentence passed by the court-martial.

PETER HEYWOOD *to* DOCTOR SCOTT.

"Hector, September 20th, 1792.

"HONORED AND DEAR SIR,—On Wednesday the 10th the awful trial commenced, on that day when, in court, I had the pleasure of receiving your most kind and parental letter, in answer to which I now communicate to you the *melancholy* issue of it, which I desired my friend Mr. Graham to inform you of immediately.

"I have not been found guilty of the slightest act of the detestable crime of mutiny, and am doomed for not being active in my endeavors to suppress it. Could the

evidences who appeared on the court-martial be tried, *they* would also suffer for the same and only crime of which I have been guilty. My inexperience, and no depravity of will, is the sole cause to which I can attribute my misfortunes. Although the very strong recommendation I had to His Majesty's mercy, by all the members of the Court, may meet with his approbation, yet *that* is but the balance of a straw, a mere uncertainty, upon which no hopes can be built; the *other* is a *certainty* that must one day happen to every mortal; therefore my time and thoughts must be devoted to my eternal salvation.

"As this is too tender a subject to inform my unhappy mother and sisters of, you will either show them this letter or make known to them the truly dreadful intelligence in such a manner as (assisted by your wholesome and paternal advice) may enable them to bear it with Christian fortitude. The only worldly feelings I am now possessed of are for their happiness and welfare; but even these, in my present situation, I must endeavor, with God's assistance, to eradicate from my heart, how hard soever the task. I must strive against cherishing any temporal affections. But, dear sir, endeavor to mitigate my distressed mother's sorrow; give my everlasting duty to her, and unabated love to my disconsolate brothers and sisters, and all my other relatives. Encourage them, by my example, to bear up with fortitude and resignation to the Divine will under their load of misfortunes, almost too great for female nature to support, and teach them to be fully persuaded that all hopes of happiness on earth are vain.

"On my own account, I *still* enjoy the utmost serenity of mind, and am, dearest sir, forever your greatly indebted and most dutiful, but ill-fated

"PETER HEYWOOD."

PETER HEYWOOD *to* NESSY HEYWOOD.

"Hector, September 22d, 1792.

"Had I not a strong idea that ere this mournful epistle from your ill-fated brother can reach the trembling hand

of my ever-dear and much afflicted sister Nessy, she must have been informed by my honored friend Dr. Scott of the final issue of my trial on Wednesday morning, I would not now add trouble to the afflicted by a confirmation of it. Though I have indeed fallen an early victim to the rigid rules of the service, and though the jaws of death are once more opened upon me, yet do I not now, nor ever will, bow to the tyranny of base-born fear; and, conscious of having done my duty, I feel not one moment's anxiety on my own account, but cherish a full and sanguine hope that perhaps a few days more will free me from the load of misfortune which has ever been my portion in this transient period of existence, and that I shall find an everlasting asylum in those blessed regions of eternal bliss, where the galling yoke of tyranny and oppression is felt no more, through the merits and intercession of our blessed Saviour. If earthly majesty (to whose mercy I have been recommended by the Court) should refuse to put forth its lenient hand, and rescue me from what is called an ignominious death, there is a heavenly King and Redeemer ready to receive the righteous penitent, on whose gracious mercy alone I (as should we all) depend, with that pious resignation which is the duty of every Christian; well convinced that without his express permission not even a hair of our head can fall to the ground.

"Oh, my sister! my heart yearns when I picture to myself the indescribable affliction which this melancholy news must have caused in the mind of my much-honored mother. But let it be your peculiar endeavor to watch over her grief and mitigate her pain. I hope this little advice from me will be unnecessary, for I know the holy precepts of that inspired religion which, thank Heaven, hath been implanted in the bosoms of us all, will point out to you, and all my dear relatives, that fortitude and resignation which is required of us in the conflicts of human nature, and prevent you from arraigning the wisdom of that Omniscient Providence, of which we ought all to have the fullest sense.

"I have just had a most affecting letter from my uncle Holwell, to whom I communicated what had happened during the former part of this week. Mr. Graham, whose kind friendship to me has been unparalleled, is this day gone up to town to my uncle Pasley, whose endeavors towards my enlargement have been *unremitting*, but these I can not trust to. I have now more serious business in hand—the care and salvation of my soul.

"I have had all my dear Nessy's letters, the one of the 17th this morning; but, alas! what do they now avail? The contents of them only serve to prove the instability of all human hopes and expectations! But, my sister, I begin to feel the pangs which you must suffer from the perusal of this melancholy paper, and therefore will desist. I know it is more than your nature can support. The contrast between last week's correspondence and this is great indeed! But why? we had only hope then, and have we not the same now? Certainly!

"Endeavor then, my love, to cherish that hope, and with faith rely upon the mercy of that God who does as to Him seems best, and most conducive to the general good of His creatures.

"Bear it then with Christian patience, and instill into the minds of my dear and now sorrowful sisters, by your advice, the same disposition; and, for Heaven's sake, let not despair touch the soul of my dear mother, for then all would be over. Let James also employ all his efforts to cheer her spirits under her weight of woe. My sincere love wherever due. I will write no more. I feel too much my sister's state of mind.

"Adieu! my dearest love; write but little to me, and pray for your affectionate but ill-fated brother,

"PETER HEYWOOD.

"P.S.—I am in perfect spirits, therefore let not your sympathizing feelings for my sufferings hurt your own precious health, which is dearer to me than life itself."

In accordance with Mr. Peter Heywood's request, Dr.

Scott conveyed the information of the painful result of the court-martial to the anxious family, and their state of mind may well be imagined.

On Monday, October 1st, while seated at breakfast, a messenger came to inform them that a small fishing-boat would sail for Liverpool in the course of half an hour, and that the captain would take charge of any letters or parcels they might wish to send. Nessy Heywood accordingly wrote the following letter to her brother James, at that time in Liverpool.

NESSY HEYWOOD *to* JAMES HEYWOOD.

"Isle of Man, October 1st, 1792.

"MY DEAREST JAMES,—There is a vessel going to Liverpool this instant, and I have but a moment to tell you that I received yours on Thursday night, till when we had heard nothing but by report. The packet is not *yet* arrived, and our friends will not let me go from hence till she brings some certain news.

"We are in an agony of suspense, and I can hardly support my own misery, much less keep up my poor mamma's dejected spirits. If there is the *least* apprehension entertained by the people of Liverpool for his life, or if you think there is the smallest necessity for your going to Portsmouth, go, for Heaven's sake, without waiting for me. 'Tis true your being there can do him no essential service, nor will his friends leave any thing undone for him, but 'tis natural to suppose he must wish to see some of his unhappy family. It is, however, some comfort that I am able to assure you that every person here to whom we have spoken on the subject agrees in the opinion that there is not the smallest danger, that his being found guilty is not because any thing has been proved against him (for had that been the case, it would have been morally impossible to save him), but because he, poor fellow, was not able to bring evidence sufficiently strong to prove his innocence; that a recommendation from a court-martial to mercy is exactly

the same as an acquittal in any other court; for the martial law is so strict and severe, that there is no medium between absolute acquittal and death; that there is no instance in which a pardon upon that recommendation has been refused by the Executive Power, which is the only possible way of mitigating too severe a law. This is the only opinion here, in which I do not find one dissenting voice except our own; but we have hoped too long, and have too much at stake to be satisfied with conjectures however well founded; nor can any thing but a certainty from his own letters still our apprehensions.

"This is a calm day, and I hope the packet will at length make her appearance. If she brings not a certainty of his safety I shall set off for Liverpool immediately; but if you have a doubt of that, I again repeat it, *do not wait for me.* I can go alone; fear and even despair will in that case support me through the journey. Yet, if I could listen to reason (which is at present indeed difficult), it is not likely that any thing serious has taken place or will do so, as we should then certainly have had an express. But, my dear James, act as your affection and judgment shall dictate, and think only of our poor unfortunate and adored boy.

"Love from all. Adieu! bestow not one thought on me. Take care of our dear Henry; I hope he will not sail until we are free from this dreadful distress. The vessel waits. My dear brother, your most affectionate sister,

"Nessy Heywood."

Nessy, however, crossed in the same boat which conveyed this letter, for Mrs. Heywood's distress of mind rendering her almost incapable of thinking, her friends judged it advisable that Nessy should not lose this opportunity of going to England. Her own impatience, also, to be near her beloved and unfortunate brother led her to fly to him, notwithstanding a contrary wind and bad weather. With hasty preparation, therefore, she was placed with an attendant on board the rough little fishing-boat.

NESSY HEYWOOD *to* MRS. HEYWOOD *and her Friends.*

"Liverpool, October 3d, 1792.

"MY BELOVED FRIENDS,—We did not arrive here till noon this day, after a most tempestuous passage of forty-nine hours, with the wind directly contrary the whole way. Yet (notwithstanding that vexatious circumstance, *hard boards*—for I could not prevail on myself to enter one of their dirty, close beds—and aching bones in consequence, together with passing two nights almost without closing my eyes) let me be but blessed with the cheering influence of *hope*, and I have *spirit* to undertake any thing. The plaid was a most comfortable thing to me. I wrapped it round my head, and it kept out a compound of horrid odors, with which I should otherwise have been annoyed.

"At the mouth of the river this morning we met a small open fishing-boat, into which I got (as I was told I should by that means arrive two hours sooner than I could otherwise have done), and as the sea was very high, every wave washed over me, and I had a complete *wetting*.

"On my arrival I found poor Henry had sailed two days ago. I sent for James, who is still here; he was prevented from going to town last night by a violent cold, but will now accompany me. I dined with him at Mrs. Nicholson's, who, as well as every body else, seemed charmed with Henry. My poor boy! how much do I regret I did not come in time to see him; but I rejoice to find he went off in good spirits, and his last words mentioned Peter. I have been myself to secure a place in the mail-coach, and hope to be by 10 o'clock to-night on my road to (may I not hope?) the completion of all my worldly happiness.

"Mr. Southcote (whom I passed at sea) will inform you that the pardon went down to the king at Weymouth some days ago. May we not encourage a hope that I shall find all our miseries at an end? Oh, heavens! dare I flatter myself it is so; and shall we yet be happy? The thought is ecstasy!

"I am just going to write to the worthy Mr. Graham; you know I told you I should do so at sea, but I might as well have attempted to build a temple there—such tossing, tumbling, and odor—oh, lack! 'twas as well my mind was bent on something else. When I was tempted to repine at the winds, I remembered that they were favorable for Henry. I reflected on Peter's sufferings, and was content.

"Adieu! my dearest mamma and sisters. God bless you all; in your prayers for our beloved and exemplary sufferer, add a word or two for your most dutiful and affectionate NESSY HEYWOOD."

NESSY HEYWOOD *to* MRS. HEYWOOD.

"London, Great Russell Street,
"Noon, October 5th, 1792.

"MY DEAR MAMMA,—At length I have arrived at my destined place of residence for some days at least, but with a deep sigh must add I have not yet seen my loved Peter. Mr. Graham* has, however, *personally* assured me we need entertain no fears. At six this morning I reached London. I first dressed, breakfasted, and then sent a card by my brother James to Mr. Graham.

"In an hour they returned together, and I am as much charmed with his appearance as we before were with his letters. He has a most prepossessing countenance, with eyes in which are strongly pictured the sympathetic worth and goodness of his heart.

"He would not suffer me to express my gratitude for favors which are invaluable, but when I attempted to do so, told me he was most effectually repaid by my not saying one word about them.

"I felt the tears ready to start into my eyes. My first inquiry was after my angel brother, and I found the matter not yet settled. 'But, sir, may I be sure it *will* be set-

* A police magistrate, and a friend of Captain Pasley, who had invited Miss Heywood to stay at his house.

tled to our satisfaction?' 'You may indeed, ma'am, depend upon it.' Was not this charming? Well, after a thousand polite apologies for being engaged on some particular business, he requested I would step into the coach with him immediately, and make his house my home. I, of course, insisted on his suffering me to go alone, as his hour of appointment was then past, and said that I would take the liberty of introducing myself to Miss Graham, who is the only one of his family at present in town.

"On my arrival here, I found Miss Graham, a beautiful girl, about my own size, and, I think, about fifteen or sixteen. She is fair, and rather pale than otherwise—fine features, a most interesting countenance, with soft-speaking hazel eyes, and a most bewitching gentleness of manner. She was at work, and there was a piano-forte in the room, so that I suppose her musical, which, to me, gives her an additional charm. On her asking if I would not like to lie down after my fatigue, I preferred writing to you. Now, mamma, was not that very dutiful, considering the weight which must, of course, at this moment press down my eyelids?

"4 *o'clock.*—Well, my dear mamma, I have had a long conversation with Mr. Graham, and to my utmost satisfaction. He says, 'I look upon him,' speaking of Peter, 'to be the most amiable young man that could possibly exist. I do not scruple to say I should not entirely believe *you*, as you may be partial, but I speak from my *own observation.* He conducts himself in such a manner as will reflect the *highest* and most *lasting* honor on himself, and produce the greatest pleasure and satisfaction to his friends.'

"He assures me that there is not a doubt existing in the mind of any person who has seen the minutes of the court-martial respecting Peter's innocence. It was Hallett, that vilest of wretches, who condemned him, as well as the other poor man who is condemned.

"How kind and benevolent has Mr. Graham been! in short, I could tell you a thousand things that would give you pleasure, but dinner waits, and I must finish. I shall

write Peter to-morrow, in such a way as to keep up all his serenity of mind, which renders him so admirable.

"Adieu, my dearest mamma; believe me, I have every reason to desire you will keep up your spirits; and assure yourself I shall labor unceasingly for my beloved Peter's sake, with my utmost abilities and efforts. Tell Dr. Scott so with my kindest remembrances. Adieu, again, my dearest friends; *all* accept my love, and do not forget your most faithfully affectionate

"Nessy Heywood."

Peter Heywood *to* Nessy Heywood.

"Hector, October 7th, 1792.

"The date of my dearest Nessy's of yesterday surprised me very much indeed; yet I must own I had some idea that either you or James would take a trip to town on receipt of Mr. Graham's letters. Pray, my dear, did you come alone, or is James with you? I see your little *bravery* of spirit, as you called it, can surmount the greatest difficulties, and all for a poor son of misfortune; but, my sweet girl, it is not in my power to reward you; that Being, who permits us to enjoy life, will do it some day or other.

"What obligations, my dear Nessy, are we under to the inestimable Mr. Graham, and a hundred other friends! You may say, *you must hope.* Alas! my love, it is nothing but a broken staff which I have leaned upon, and it has pierced my soul in such a manner that I will never more trust to it, but wait with a contented mind and *patience* for the final accomplishment of the Divine will.

"You wish to know how I am in health, and to tell you the exact state of my mind at present. I never was in better health or spirits in my life; but recollect that Mrs. Hope is a faithless and ungrateful acquaintance, with whom I have now broken off all connections, and in *her* stead have endeavored to cultivate a more *sure* friendship with *resignation*, in full trust of finding her more *constant.* Your mentioning that you left my dear mother in better spirits than could be expected has exhilarated mine.

"My reason, my dear sister, for desiring you not to write much was lest you might hurt yourself by it, and from an idea that your exalted sentiments upon so tender a subject ought not to be known to an inquiring world; but do just as you like best. I am conscious that your good sense will prompt you to nothing inconsistent with our present circumstances.

"I have not heard from my uncle Pasley since the trial ended; if you see or write to him, give my most sincere duty, and endeavor when you write home to raise my dear mother's spirits, and tell her I am in perfect health, and have never yet felt the least depressed, except on her account, and that of my dear sisters, etc.

"For God's sake let *nothing* prompt *you* to come *here*, but remain content under the care of our benevolent friend Mr. Graham. I need say no more, but only recommend to you, my dear Nessy, to keep up your spirits, and trust to Him whose will only can be done towards

"Your ever affectionate and most faithful brother,

"PETER HEYWOOD."

NESSY HEYWOOD *and* MR. GRAHAM *to* MRS. HEYWOOD.

"Friday, October 26th, 1792, 4 o'clock,
"Great Russell Street.

"Oh, blessed hour! little did I think, my beloved friends, when I closed my letter this morning that before night I should be out of my senses with joy. This moment, this ecstatic moment, brought the inclosed.* I can not speak my happiness; let it be sufficient to say that in a very few hours our angel Peter will be *free!* Mr. Graham goes this night to Portsmouth, and to-morrow (or next day at farthest) I shall be—oh, heavens! what shall I be? I am already transported, even to pain; then how shall I bear to clasp him to the bosom of your happy—oh, how happy!—and affectionate NESSY HEYWOOD.

"I am too *mad* to write, but 'tis a pleasure I would not

* Information that the pardon had been sent down to Portsmouth.

forego to be the most reasonable being on earth. I asked Mr. Graham, who is at my elbow, if he would say any thing to you. 'Lord!' said he, 'I can't say any thing.' He is almost as mad as myself."

Mr. Graham, however, writes:

"I have my senses sufficiently about me not to suffer this to go without begging leave to congratulate you upon, and to assure you that I most sincerely sympathize and participate in, the happiness which I am sure the inclosed will convey to the mother and sisters of my charming and beloved Nessy. If it be necessary, I can safely add that I am, and ever shall remain, with the greatest regard, my dear madam, your most faithful humble servant, A. GRAHAM."

About the same period, Mr. Graham wrote to a friend of the Heywoods as follows:

"It will be a great satisfaction to Mr. Heywood's family to learn that the declarations of some of the other prisoners, since the trial, have put it past all doubt that the evidence upon which he was convicted must have been (to say nothing worse of it) an unfortunate belief on the part of the witness,* of circumstances which either never had existence, or were applicable to one of the other gentlemen who remained in the ship, and not to Mr. Peter Heywood."

After more than five weeks of suspense and anxiety—on the morning of the 27th of October, 1792, His Majesty's free and unconditional pardon for Mr. Heywood and James Morrison, was received by Captain Montague on board the Hector.

He immediately sent for the two prisoners, and shaking hands with them, read the important document which re-

* Alluding to the evidence given by Lieutenant Hallett.

stored them to liberty with unimpeached characters. At the conclusion, Mr. Heywood, with considerable emotion, addressed Captain Montague in the following terms:

"Sir,—When the sentence of the law was passed upon me, I received it, I trust, as became a man, and if it had been carried into execution, I should have met my fate, I hope, in a manner becoming a Christian.

"Your admonition can not fail to make a lasting impression on my mind.* I receive with gratitude my sovereign's mercy, for which my future life shall be faithfully devoted to his service."

NESSY HEYWOOD, etc., *to* MRS. HEYWOOD.

"Great Russell Street, Monday morning,
"29th of October, half-past 10 o'clock.
"The brightest moment of my existence.

"MY DEAR MAMMA,—I have seen him—clasped him to my bosom—and my felicity is beyond conception. In person he is almost, even now, as I could wish; in mind, you know him, an angel. I can write no more, but to tell you that the three happiest beings at this moment on earth are your most dutiful and affectionate children,

NESSY HEYWOOD,
"Love to and from all, PETER HEYWOOD,
ten thousand times. JAMES HEYWOOD."

"I can not help taking up the pen, my dear madam, to congratulate you on your beloved Peter's arrival *once more* in London. That he may long enjoy that first of blessings, liberty, and the company of his amiable family, is the wish, dear madam, of your most obedient humble servant, MARIA GRAHAM."†

On the same day that the pardon for Mr. Heywood and Morrison arrived at Portsmouth, Lord Hood, who had been the President of the court-martial, wrote to Captain

* Captain Montague advised him to re-enter the navy without delay.
† She died a few months afterwards of a short illness.

Pasley, offering to take young Heywood as midshipman on board the Victory. This gratifying proposal, however, was declined for him, as his uncle preferred taking him on board his own ship, the Bellerophon, thinking he would learn more of his profession in a smaller vessel than on board the flag-ship.

His health had begun to suffer from confinement and anxiety, and, consequently, he obtained from the Admiralty leave of absence for several months, to visit his family and to recruit his strength prior to joining his ship.

To James Morrison, whose shattered health equally needed repose, the same period of leave was granted, and he was promoted to the rank of "gunner" on his appointment to a ship.

Although the sentence of the court-martial left no hope of pardon for the four remaining prisoners, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty did not deem the evidence given by Lieutenant T. Hayward satisfactory, and as it was upon his testimony alone, unsupported by any other, that Muspratt had been condemned, they sent down at the last moment a respite for him during His Majesty's pleasure.

With regard to Millward and Birkett, it had been asserted that they had had arms in their hands, and were on deck during the mutiny; but Ellison, on the evidence of all the witnesses, had been proved guilty as an active partisan in the mutiny, and had said "he would stand sentry over Lieutenant Bligh." Upon these three the extreme penalty of the law was carried out. They suffered with much fortitude and resignation; Ellison was truly penitent, acknowledged the justice of his sentence, and trusted that his fate might prove a warning to others, never to be led into acts of insubordination and violence against constituted authority.

A sad, although an indirect result of the proceedings we have related, occurred the following year, in the death of Miss N. Heywood, whose name has been so much associated with this portion of the narrative. The few months she passed in her brother's society in the Isle of Man, were (to use her own expression) "months of unalloyed happiness," nor was the pain of parting with him for an indefinite period so severely felt by her, as she looked forward with pride and pleasure to his future and successful career. But the parting was to be forever! Protracted anxiety had worn out a naturally delicate constitution, and the beloved Nessy was removed to that happier world where care and sorrow are unknown. She had never recovered the effects of the tempestuous voyage to Liverpool, during which she was for so many hours drenched by the waves in the little fishing-boat; and on her arrival, her anxiety to reach London was too great to allow of the repose and refreshment necessary after so much exposure. Her health visibly declined at the conclusion of the court-martial; it seemed as if the transition from sorrow to happiness had been more than her enfeebled frame could bear; but her family and friends apprehended no danger, until she paid a visit to Major Yorke, at Bishop's Grove, near Tunbridge Wells. While there, she accompanied her friends to a ball in the neighborhood, and immediately afterwards was seized with a violent cold, accompanied with inflammation of the lungs. For a few days the attack appeared to have yielded to medical treatment, and Mrs. Yorke was recommended to remove her to Hastings, which she did on the 5th of September; but all was in vain, and Nessy succumbed to the fatal malady on the 25th of the same month, 1793, at the age of twenty-six.

Her mother, in a touching notice of this sad event, writes, "Alas! it was too late for Nessy to receive the

wished-for benefit from sea-air, and she has left her only surviving parent, a disconsolate mother, to lament, as long as she lives, the irreparable loss of her invaluable, affectionate, and darling daughter."

The charm of Nessy Heywood's character, and the fascination which she appears to have exerted over her relatives and friends, arose principally from her unselfishness and warmth of heart. Her brother Peter has described her personal appearance as follows:

"Nessy was below the middle height, but well-formed, and graceful in her movements. Her features were by no means regular, but her eyes redeemed the whole face, they were shaded with long, drooping eyelashes, and either sparkled with intelligence and vivacity, or melted with the tenderest sympathy. Her mind had been well cultivated, and she inherited from her father her talent for music, which was also possessed by several of his other children; but Nessy's fine voice, and power of execution, both on the organ and piano, rendered the family concerts peculiarly attractive, and on some occasions she would accompany her father on the violin, both being skillful performers on that instrument. With such accomplishments, it may be readily imagined that, among her friends and acquaintances, no party was complete without Nessy's presence, and her impromptu songs, composed for these friendly meetings, were long remembered in her native island."

We have already given specimens of her poetry; the following lines were written during her last illness:

"Silence then—
The whispers of complaint low in the dust,
Dissatisfaction's demon-growl unheard—
All, all is good, all excellent below.
Pain is a blessing—sorrow leads to joy—
Joy permanent and solid! Ev'ry ill,

Grim death itself, in all its horrors clad,
Is man's supremest privilege! It frees
The soul from prison, from foul sin, from woe,
And gives it back to glory, rest, and God!
Cheerly, my friends, oh! cheerly—look not thus
With Pity's melting softness; that alone
Can shake my fortitude—all is not lost.
Lo! I have gained on this important day
A victory consummate o'er myself;
And o'er this life a victory—on this day,
My birthday to eternity, I've gained
Dismission from a world, where for a while,
Like you, like all, a pilgrim passing poor;
A traveller, a stranger, I have met
Still stranger treatment rude and harsh—so much
The dearer, more desired the Home I seek
Eternal of my Father and my God!
Then pious resignation, meek-eyed power
Sustain me still! Composure still be mine!"

This chapter may now be appropriately terminated with sketches of the subsequent services of those of the officers of the Bounty who returned to England, and with whose names we have become familiar.

In consequence of the solicitations of the West Indian merchants, the Government decided to send out another expedition to the South Seas, with the same object as the first, which had terminated so disastrously. A vessel was purchased named the Providence, also a small tender to accompany her, and Captain Bligh, being again appointed to the command, sailed from England in the summer of 1791. In the spring of 1792 they reached Tahiti, occupied three months only in collecting twelve hundred young bread-fruit trees, the greater number of which were successfully carried to the West Indian Islands,* and Captain

* As regarded providing a desirable article of food for the negroes, the expedition proved a failure. They disliked the insipid flavor of the bread-fruit, and it did not yield so quick a return for the labor of cultivation as the plantain.

Bligh returned to England in 1793, when he received the gold medal from the Society of Arts as a reward for his exertions.

The court-martial was over long before his arrival; but Edward Christian, the distinguished brother of the chief mutineer, had published minutes of its proceedings, with a copious appendix; and, although it was impossible to palliate the illegal proceedings of Fletcher Christian and his associates, yet, here and on the trial, so much was disclosed of oppression and unjustifiable treatment of both officers and men on the part of the commander, that the tide of public opinion and favor greatly changed regarding his conduct. To reply to these allegations occupied Captain Bligh several months; and he was greatly irritated at the necessity he felt of making what he termed "his defense."

He was afterwards employed in active service, and, on the occasion of the remarkable mutiny at the Nore, was ordered to negotiate among the seamen, with the view of bringing them to a sense of their duty; on which occasion he acted with great intrepidity. In the two famous actions of Cape St. Vincent and Camperdown, Captain Bligh commanded the Glatton, and also at the battle of Copenhagen: on the latter occasion Lord Nelson sent for him, and thanked him for his admirable support during the action.

In 1805, he was appointed Governor of New South Wales, and there his oppressive, arbitrary conduct raised against him a host of enemies. He had been instructed by the Home Government to restrain within certain limits the importation of spirits into the colony; and many men might have introduced this unpalatable reform without creating such hostile and dangerous opposition. Bligh, however, had no tact, no spirit of conciliation, and, in con-

sequence, he was the cause of a *military* mutiny. In January, 1808, the New South Wales Corps, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel G. Johnstone, deposed Governor Bligh, and placed him on board a ship proceeding to England.* On his arrival, the public were not surprised to hear he had been sent away in so summary a manner; but the Government were, of course, compelled to order a court-martial on Colonel Johnstone, who came to England with several officers for his trial. It was held in Chelsea Hospital, and lasted thirteen days. Colonel Johnstone was convicted of mutiny, and cashiered, but allowed to return to the colony, and no executions took place.

Captain Bligh then retired into private life, where he appears to have displayed more amiability of character than in any public capacity, as he was beloved by his family and friends. He attained the rank of Vice-admiral of the Blue, and died in London at the age of sixty-five.

The petty officer, James Morrison (whose journal has been so frequently quoted in the foregoing pages), had employed the three months of his captivity on board the Hector in writing out from notes which he had kept of daily occurrences from the period of the departure of the Bounty from England to his return as a prisoner.

This note-book he preserved in the wreck of the Pandora, and to these notices added minute descriptions of the places at which the Bounty had touched, especially the Society Islands; his long residence at Tahiti enabling

* Wentworth's "New South Wales," and "Curious Facts of Old Colonial Days," by James Bonwick, F.R.G.S. London, 1870.

The following paragraph appeared in a number of the "Sydney Morning Herald" of 1869: "There is a man living (in the healthful district of Kurragong) one hundred and thirteen years of age. His name is Michael Norton. He states that he was the sergeant who was in charge of the party, under an officer named Ross, who marched to Government-house to arrest Governor Bligh, as recorded in colonial annals."

him to describe minutely the manners and customs of the inhabitants, as well as the general productions of the islands. The manuscript of this journal, consisting of three hundred pages folio, he presented to Peter Heywood when they parted.*

After his release, Morrison served in various ships; but when Admiral Sir Thomas Troubridge was sent out in the Blenheim, as commander-in-chief on the Indian station, Morrison was appointed gunner on board the flag-ship—as prior to joining the Bounty he had served under the Admiral (then Captain Troubridge), who thought highly of his abilities and of his good conduct.

On the appointment of Sir Edward Pellew (Viscount Exmouth) to succeed Sir T. Troubridge in the command of the East Indian Station, the Blenheim proceeded from Pulo Penang to Madras to meet the new commander-in-chief. On her arrival she was pronounced unfit for sea, being (according to the surveyor's report) "much hogged," and her beams, etc., showing she was in danger of falling to pieces. In this state the incessant labor of the crew hardly sufficed to keep the water from gaining on them, even while the ship lay at anchor. In vain the flag-captain and officers represented that she would be the coffin of all on board; in vain it was urged upon the intrepid admiral to return to England in another ship; he insisted on taking her, at all events, to the Cape, saying, "I will not leave my good old ship; I will go to the Cape in her, or not go at all." She sailed from Madras in company with the Juno frigate early in 1807; and as neither of them was again heard of, it is supposed they were both lost in a gale off the Isle of Bourbon: and thus perished

* This manuscript, and other papers, are in the possession of the writer.

James Morrison, with the gallant officers and crew of the Blenheim.

The careers of Mr. Thomas Hayward and Mr. Hallett, the two midshipmen of the Bounty who gave evidence on the court-martial, were short and uneventful.

Hayward, who became third lieutenant of the Pandora, was in due course of service appointed to the command of the Swift, sloop-of-war, and ordered to proceed to the East Indies. From thence she was sent to China, and as there were no tidings of her safe arrival, the conclusion was that she had foundered, with all on board, in a typhoon in the China Seas.

Mr. Hallett was appointed as lieutenant in the Penelope frigate, on board of which vessel he died. In his last moments he expressed his contrition for the unfavorable evidence he had given against his friend Peter Heywood; and said that he had since felt convinced he had spoken too positively of facts concerning which he could not be certain, for that in the confusion on the fatal morning of the mutiny he was quite bewildered. He added also, that on the voyage to England with Lieutenant Bligh he had been too much influenced by that officer, who had taken a prejudice against Peter Heywood; and he earnestly entreated his captain that this information might be communicated to his former shipmate and his family as the only reparation in his power to make for the injury he had inflicted on them.*

The future career of Peter Heywood was in no way prejudiced by the misfortunes of his early life. At the conclusion of the court-martial, Lord Hood, who had been president, recommended him, on receiving His Majesty's

* Sir John Barrow has corroborated this fact, and taken some trouble to ascertain its truth.

pardon, to embark again as midshipman in His Majesty's service, without any needless delay after the recovery of his health; and offered to take him on board his own ship, the Victory. This proposal was declined for him by Commodore Pasley, who thought he would learn more of his profession in a frigate than in a line-of-battle ship. Immediately on his release, however, Heywood was allowed leave of absence to visit his family in the Isle of Man, and some repose was necessary for the recovery of his health, which had become impaired from the anxiety and suspense he had suffered during the three months prior to his trial.

On the 17th of May he joined his uncle's ship, the Bellerophon, and soon afterwards was transferred to the Niger, Honorable Captain Legge, where he served as master's-mate. Subsequently he joined the Queen Charlotte—the flag-ship of Earl Howe, Commander-in-chief of the Channel Squadron, where he served as signal midshipman and master's-mate; and in the actions of May 28th and 29th, and the 1st of June, 1794, acted on the quarter-deck of that ship as aid-de-camp to Sir Andrew Snape Douglas. When the victorious fleet returned to Spithead, he was selected as one of the two midshipmen to attend the side when His Majesty visited the Queen Charlotte, making use of her barge. In August, 1794, he was appointed lieutenant to La Nymphe, Captain G. Murray, and was actively employed in Lord Bridport's action off L'Orient, when three French ships were taken. He afterwards served in the North Sea, and in India under the flag of Vice-admiral Rainier, and obtained successively the ranks of commander and post-captain.

In command of the Leopard, Captain Heywood was ordered to make extensive surveys on the north-east and east coast of Ceylon, continuing these surveys along the

coasts of India and the Eastern Islands. This service enabled him to give material assistance to his friend James Horsburgh, the hydrographer to the East India Company, in his important "Directions and Charts for Sailing to the East Indies, and in the Indian Ocean;" but his large collection of notes and charts were sent to the Admiralty in 1805, when he was compelled from impaired health to invalid from the Leopard, and return to England.

In 1806 he became flag-captain to Admiral Sir G. Murray, who in 1808 was sent to the Rio de la Plata on important diplomatic service, as well as to protect the interests of the English merchants. A civil war was then raging; the South American Provinces had determined to throw off the yoke of the mother country, and in an attempt to retake Buenos Ayres, the British forces, under Lieutenant-general Whitelock, sustained unfortunate reverses.

In 1809 Captain Heywood returned to England, and in command of the Nereus was ordered to join the Channel Squadron, which in an engagement destroyed the French ships that had anchored in the Sable-d'Olonne. The Nereus was afterwards sent to the Mediterranean, and in 1810 her captain had the honor of bringing to England the remains of that great commander and truly good man, Lord Collingwood.

Captain Heywood was again sent to South America in the Nereus on a diplomatic mission, as he was well acquainted with the chiefs of the Revolution. Having concluded the negotiations to the satisfaction of his own Government and that of Buenos Ayres, he returned, and was appointed to the Montague, 74, to join the North Sea Fleet under the command of H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence and Admiral Young. The Montague was ordered again to form one of the Channel Squadron, and, finally, the Medi-

terranean Fleet under Viscount Exmouth; and at the conclusion of the war, when our naval armaments were reduced, Captain Heywood retired into private life.

He married the widow of Captain George Jolliffe, of the East Indian maritime service, and, happy in his domestic relations, and surrounded by a large circle of literary and scientific friends, whose pursuits were most congenial to his tastes, he had no desire beyond but to promote benevolent and philanthropic enterprises.

In 1818, the command on the lakes of Canada becoming vacant, Lord Melville offered it to Captain Heywood, considerately making acceptance optional. Possessing an independence, and not feeling it a duty to serve in time of peace, he addressed a letter to his lordship stating these reasons for declining the honor, but adding, that in the event of war he would be most anxious to place his services at the disposal of their lordships.

He afterwards devoted much of his time to further the interests of his profession, and was in constant communication with the Hydrographical Department of the Admiralty, at the head of which at that period was Captain Hurd, R.N. A considerable time after the death of this officer, and in the year 1829, it was deemed important to fill the appointment permanently, as Sir E. Parry's services were directed to the steam department, and he could only hold it temporarily. Lord Melville then sent for Captain Heywood, and proposed that he should accept the office. In addition to other reasons for declining public employment, his health, which for several months had been failing, was then visibly declining, and he urged on his lordship that the appointment should be offered to his esteemed friend Captain Beaufort, who, from his abilities and acquirements was peculiarly fitted for the office. There were no feelings of rivalry between these two offi-

cers, whose appreciation of each other's character and talents, and long steady friendship, continued to the close of life.

During his latter years Captain Heywood labored under a fatal heart disease, which he bore with Christian calmness, and thankfulness for the many blessings he had enjoyed; averring that, notwithstanding the sufferings and anxieties which had attended his early career, he would willingly pass through his life again, with all its trials and vicissitudes. He died the 10th of February, 1831.

The following stanzas are from an address presented to him by the ship's company on the paying off of the Montague:

"Farewell to thee, Montague, yet ere we quit thee,
We'll give thee the tribute so justly thy due;
For many a seaman will fondly regret thee,
And wish to rejoin thee, thou gem of True Blue.

For stout were thy timbers, and stoutly commanded,
In the records of glory untarnished thy name,
Still ready for battle when glory demanded,
All ready to conquer or die in thy fame.

Farewell to thee, Heywood, a truer one never
Hath exercised rule o'er the sons of the wave,
The seamen who served thee, would serve thee forever,
Who swayed, but ne'er fettered, the hearts of the brave."

PART SECOND.

CHAPTER I.

Position of the Mutineers.—Arrival at Pitcairn Island.—Destruction of the Bounty.—Death of Fletcher Christian, Edward Young, and others.—Alexander Smith (John Adams), sole Survivor.

In a foregoing chapter we have recorded the legal proceedings which took place on the return of those officers and men to England who, having had the misfortune of being connected with the Bounty, were brought home prisoners, and tried by court-martial. Our narrative now requires that the reader should transfer his thoughts to that part of the globe where those events took place which are recorded in the early part of this volume, for they led to the settlement of the principal mutineers on a small island in the South Pacific Ocean. These nine men (whose names have already been given) were bound together by no principle, but only by the fact that they were brethren in crime, all of them having participated more or less in a deed of violence which amounted to piracy on the high seas. They had revolted from lawful authority, and were amenable to those Articles of War which regulate the service to which they belonged, and by that code their lives were forfeited. With reference to their leader, Fletcher Christian, it is remarkable that a feeling of respect for him was predominant among them, and this feeling, partly arising, it is probable, from habitual deference to a superior officer, and partly from his superior intellect and intelligence, no act of his appears to

have lessened, even to the close of his life. The drama in which they played so considerable a part had been commenced by tyranny, continued by violence, and (as will be seen) ended in bloodshed and death.

Sad indeed are the events now to be related, and yet they seem but a natural sequence to those which have preceded them in this tale of misery and distress. Passion and strife are as terrible in their results as the war of the elements, and in this narrative oppressors and oppressed seem to have alike suffered; some, from the proximity of death in the most appalling forms, either by famine or shipwreck; and others again from violence at the hands of their friends and associates. It is, however, consoling to reflect, in reading these and the preceding details, that the causes which led to so singular a chain of circumstances, are not likely to occur again in the improved state of naval discipline. Neither is it probable that a small band of outlaws (as the mutineers may be termed) would be able to remain long undiscovered in the South Pacific Ocean, now so well known and traversed by vessels of every description; but that period, the conclusion of the last, and the commencement of the present century, was marked by such stirring events, involving interests so important, that the attention of the public was almost entirely absorbed by the naval and military undertakings in which England was engaged. All Europe crouched beneath the foot of one individual, whose insatiable ambition made the name of Napoleon Bonaparte a word of terror in every city and country homestead.

Under these circumstances, it was not surprising that public curiosity should have subsided concerning the Bounty and the fate of a few sailors who had outraged the laws of their country and had disappeared among the islands of the Southern Ocean. Whether they were alive

or not, no one cared, perhaps not even their own relatives, upon whom their illegal act had inflicted so much sorrow and disgrace. It was otherwise, however, with regard to the relatives of Fletcher Christian. In his case, a mother and sister, to whom he had been devotedly attached, long survived to deplore his fate—whether by untimely death, or a blighted existence in some obscure retreat—and they doubted whether his criminality had not been in some measure due to the harsh treatment of a superior officer. But by the rest of his relatives his very name was to be buried in oblivion, for, in addition to the mutinous outbreak, Lieutenant Bligh had painted his character in such dark colors, that even the able defense written by his distinguished brother* could not remove the stain from his reputation.

We shall now take up the subsequent history of the mutineers, from the point where Christian, having landed those officers and men from the Bounty who preferred remaining at Tahiti, sailed from Maatavaye Bay, standing in a northerly direction. It has been ascertained that a copy of Captain Carteret's "Voyage to the South Seas" (to which allusion has been made) was among the books left on board the Bounty, which, as it described the loneliness of Pitcairn Island, probably determined Christian to search for it, as a safe retreat for himself and his followers. From the want of correctness in latitude and longitude, as laid down by Captain Carteret in the charts, the cruise occupied several weeks, and when it began to appear hopeless, a rock was descried far distant, rising high in the midst of the ocean. In the anxiety Christian, no doubt, endured throughout the voyage from Tahiti, security from discovery being his leading object, he must have observed

* Edward Christian, editor of "Blackstone's Commentaries."

with satisfaction the lofty precipices which bounded the isle on every side—precipices forbidding all facility of landing; and an extraordinary depth of water to its very shores, precluding the possibility of ships anchoring. "What a little speck it appears in the vast Pacific" (wrote one who many years afterwards visited it), "a mere rock, apparently incapable of resisting the mighty waves of so vast an ocean. Easily, indeed, would a ship, not knowing its exact position, miss it. The mutineers might well deem themselves secure on so small an island, so remotely situated. At that time, also, these seas were but little frequented. Even *now*, to form an idea of their vast extent, notwithstanding the thousands of vessels that are trading on it, we have only seen one ship at sea, and our track measures 4500 miles."*

Here, then, was the asylum sought for by Christian, far from the haunts of ships and of men—a rock not two leagues in its greatest extent. Little, however, could he have imagined the beauty of the interior, the forests of palms clothing the mountain sides, or the lovely valleys concealed by those precipices. Round them he directed the course of the Bounty, to a bend in the shore, destined to be her last resting-place, and which has ever since borne the name of "Bounty Bay."

After making a survey of the island, Christian divided it into nine portions, retaining one for himself, and distributing the remaining eight among his companions. Every available article was then removed from the vessel, even to the planks from her sides, the copper nails, bolts, etc., masts and sails; and in order to leave no trace which might lead to discovery, they set fire to her hull, and then

* Extract from a letter written by the Secretary of Admiral Sir Fairfax Moresby, K.C.B., dated H.M.S. Portland, 1852.

sunk the remains in twenty-five fathoms water. This event took place January 23d, 1790.

It appears that the demeanor of Christian became more changed after his arrival at Pitcairn than even after the mutiny. He seemed uneasy, and would spend whole days in a cave situated on a high ridge of almost inaccessible rocks at the farthest extremity of the island. Here he placed a stock of water and provisions, and here possibly intended to make his retreat in the event of discovery, to await his pursuers, and to defend his life to the last. But it is more probable that he frequently retired to this secluded spot to indulge in sad and bitter reflections. As he looked across that wide expanse of ocean which the height of his position commanded, a sail appearing could be to him no welcome sight. In the wide world there was no being to whom he could give a friendly greeting, or of whom he could inquire for tidings of home and of distant friends. Like Cain, he was an outcast amid the great wilderness of water; but, while we pity his misfortunes, it is impossible either to forget or to excuse his acts. But changed, morose, and moody as he may have been, Alexander Smith (J. Adams) many years afterwards confirmed Morrison's account of Christian's conduct, "that he never lost the respect of his companions," not even, it appears, in the seclusion of Pitcairn Island.

For three years all went well with the fugitives, but that inherent propensity in the white man to treat colored people with oppression and cruelty manifested itself, and led eventually to deplorable consequences. An act of Williams's against all law of right and justice, in taking the wife of one of the Tahitians (his own wife having been killed by a fall from the cliffs), was the immediate cause of a plot to murder all the Englishmen. In vain did his companions remonstrate with him as to the injustice of his

conduct; he threatened to leave the island if they interfered, and as he was the armorer and a skillful workman, they felt that his services were so indispensable that they could not afford to part with him. The plot, however, was discovered in time by the wives of the white men, who informed their husbands of it by means of a song, to which they added the words, "Why does black man sharpen axe?" "To kill white man." This plot was soon succeeded by another, on which fatal occasion Christian was shot dead while cultivating his garden, and also four of the other Englishmen — the remaining four, including Smith and Young, narrowly escaping with their lives. Smith, indeed, was severely wounded in the neck, and as he rose up, was again felled to the ground by a club, but he succeeded in his endeavor to escape down the rocks to the sea. The Tahitian men, however, called to him that his life should be spared if he would return. He did so, and they kept their promise.

Edward Young owed his preservation to the kindness of the women, who placed him in concealment until the fury of the Tahitian men should have subsided. Quintal and M'Koy had escaped to the mountains, and did not return until summoned by Smith and Young when peace had been apparently restored among all parties.

The Englishmen, thus reduced in numbers, could henceforth feel little security of exemption from such murderous attacks, and, from motives of self-defense, came to the terrible determination of destroying all the Tahitian men. One of them was killed by the wife of Edward Young, who dealt the deadly blow with an axe, and, that the last survivor might not escape, she made a sign to her husband to fire at him, which he did with fatal precision. The other Tahitian women were so horror-stricken and grieved at the execution of this design, and at the various deeds of

violence they had witnessed, that although they were treated with additional kindness by the surviving Englishmen, the greater number of them formed a plan to leave the island in one of the Bounty's boats. Fortunately for them the boat was leaky, and their intention thus frustrated. Their next wild project was to massacre the Englishmen, who discovered the plot, but did not take severe measures to punish these poor demented creatures.

After this, for a brief period, the islanders seemed to be more settled, but again evil principles prevailed, and the consequences were violent and sanguinary. M'Koy and Quintal, the most ignorant and depraved of the party, fell into habits of intoxication. M'Koy, who in early life had been employed in a distillery in Scotland, made some experiments with the Ti-root (*Dracæna terminalis*), by turning an iron kettle into a still, and unfortunately succeeded in extracting from the root an ardent spirit. From the time of this discovery, they were both in a continual state of inebriety. M'Koy threw himself from the rocks in a fit of delirium tremens, and was killed, while Quintal became a morose and even alarming companion to his two surviving countrymen. There were no limits to his exactions, and he was constantly threatening to take their lives should they not comply with his demands. He thus became so dangerous, that Smith and Young were compelled to destroy him to preserve their own lives; and thus terminated the last scene of this tragic drama at Pitcairn.

These two men were now the sole survivors of the nine Englishmen (and of all the colored men) who, nine years previously, had sought concealment and safety in the island. Happily, their minds had not been irremediably seared by crime. They desired to change the tenor of their evil lives, and to turn to those paths of virtue which lead to tranquillity and peace. A Bible and Prayer-book,

which Christian had constantly studied, but which had not been used since his death, were diligently sought for. The observance of daily morning and evening prayer was established, as well as a system of regular instruction for the children and young people, Smith zealously assisting Young, and improving his own slender acquirements by associating with a man of superior education. Edward Young, however, did not long survive this improved state of mind and feeling. An asthmatic complaint, with which he had been afflicted for several years, proved fatal to him at the age of thirty-six, and consequently, in the early part of the year 1800, Alexander Smith (John Adams) found himself the sole surviving man on the island; and the only guardian and teacher of a community of helpless women and young children.*

"Where are they now, the infuriated band
Whose outraged feelings urged them on to crime?
Proscrib'd they wandered on from land to land,
To Pitcairn came, and perished in their prime.

What need I tell their hapless leader's fate
(Slain by the hand of one he deemed his slave),
Save to the rash, I would this fact relate—
Nor stone, nor marble, marks his *unknown* grave."†

But a brighter prospect was to dawn on the future condition of the island—one which would consign to the fading memories of the past the recollection of those dark deeds which had sullied the early annals of this little colony.

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* So desirous was Adams to act according to the ordinances of the Old Testament, as well as those prescribed by the New Testament, and by the Liturgy of the Church of England, that he at first taught the observance of all the Jewish fasts and festivals, but was afterwards persuaded to discontinue them, as unnecessary under the Christian dispensation.

† The above lines on the death of Fletcher Christian and his followers are from the pen of a friend, and pastor of the Pitcairn colony, whose valuable services will be prominent in the future pages of this volume.

CHAPTER II.

Discovery of the Retreat of the Mutineers.—Visits of Captain Folger and others.—Arrival of John Buffett.—John Evans.—G. H. Nobbs.—Death of John Adams.

TWENTY years had elapsed before the mystery which had hung over the fate of the Bounty and the mutineers became gradually revealed. The first gleam of light on this subject appeared in the log-book of Mayhew Folger, the master of an American ship, named the Topaz, and dated September, 1808.*

The Topaz was short of water, and approaching a rocky island laid down in her chart as lat. 25° 4′ south, long. 130° 25′ west, the attention of the master was attracted by seeing smoke rising from it, besides other signs of habitation. The shore, on which a tremendous surf was breaking, appeared inaccessible, but a canoe was presently to be seen approaching from it, and soon, to the great astonishment of all on board, they were hailed by the occupants in good English, with offers of assistance if any of her people desired to land. The captain declined doing so, but one of the sailors, an Englishman, volunteered to go in the canoe, provided the ship stood in sufficiently near to the land, that he might swim back to her in case of being attacked.

This adventure was followed by another strange discovery. The first person by whom he was accosted on land-

* Forwarded to the Admiralty by Sir Sydney Smith, on the authority of Lieutenant Fitzmaurice, then at Valparaiso.

ing was a man who called himself Alexander Smith, telling him that he was one of the crew of the Bounty, and the only survivor of the party of nine Englishmen who had left Tahiti in her; that some of the children of the mutineers were now grown men and women, and that, including himself, the population of Pitcairn Island amounted to thirty-five persons, of whom he had been for many years the sole guardian and instructor. With this unexpected piece of intelligence the sailor returned to his ship, and Captain Folger landed immediately. Smith gave him a short account of the feuds among his companions and the Tahitian men and women they had brought with them, ending in the violent deaths of so many; that only Edward Young (the midshipman) had died a natural death. Smith, in return, eagerly inquired as to the course of events during the twenty years of his seclusion from the world. Captain Folger gave him a rapid sketch of the breaking out of the French Revolution, of the progress of the war, and of the glorious series of naval victories achieved by England which had ensued—the Nile, Trafalgar, etc., on hearing which Smith was unable to restrain his enthusiasm, and, throwing up his cap, gave a loud hurrah, exclaiming, "Old England forever!"

Captain Folger reports this extraordinary discovery in a letter, concluding with many encomiums on Smith for his excellent moral and religious training of the little community; and it was accompanied by the chronometer* and

* This chronometer had been twice carried out by Captain Cook on his voyages of discovery. It was supplied to Lieutenant Bligh when fitting out the Bounty, and the mutineers carried it with them to Pitcairn Island. Captain Folger stated that it was taken from him by the Governor of Juan Fernandez in 1808, then sold in Chili to A. Caldelengh, Esq., of Valparaiso, and purchased by Captain (afterwards Admiral) Sir T. Herbert for fifty guineas. That officer took it to China with him in the Calliope, and in 1843 brought it to England. He transmitted it to the Admiralty,

azimuth compass of the Bounty, presented to him by Smith. The arrival of this unexpected intelligence in England reawakened public curiosity, and the newspapers and periodicals teemed with the story, forming, as it does, an interesting episode in English naval history. Again, however, public interest in it subsided. No further steps were taken to communicate with the newly-discovered colony, as our ships of war were fully occupied in cruising, in convoying fleets of merchantmen, and in blockading the enemy's ports.

At length, and again by mere accident, Pitcairn was visited by two frigates—the Briton, commanded by Captain Sir F. Staines, and the Tagus, by Captain Pipon, who were in search of an American ship, the Essex, which had been seizing some English whalers. They were on their way to Valparaiso, from the Marquesas Islands, when they suddenly came in sight of an island which was not laid down in their charts; for Pitcairn was nearly two hundred miles distant, according to their reckoning. It was evening when the island was first seen, and they deferred a nearer inspection until daylight, as it seemed to them in all probability a new discovery.

Those on the island had observed the approaching strangers, and when at day-break the order was given to stand in for the land, the sailors perceived a number of inhabitants who had assembled on the rocks to watch their proceedings. Very soon two men were seen rapidly descending to the shore, with canoes on their shoulders. One of these canoes was boldly launched among the

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who presented it to the United Service Museum, in Great Scotland Yard, London. It was known to have belonged to the Bounty by the name of Kendall, the maker, being on it; and in further proof of the authenticity of Folger's statement, the name of Alexander Smith was found on the list at the Admiralty of the ship's company of the Bounty.

breakers, and then dexterously paddled through the surf alongside of the Briton. "Won't you heave us a rope now?" was the request from the canoe, and a rope being thrown out immediately, a fine young man sprang actively on the deck. His athletic figure was quaintly attired in a vest without sleeves, and trowsers to the knee; and he wore a hat jauntily decked with black-cocks' feathers. He answered the question, "Who are you?" with an ingenuous frankness: "I am Thursday October Christian, son of Fletcher Christian, the mutineer, by a Tahitian mother, and the first born on this island."

The handsome youth who accompanied him was Edward Young, son of the midshipman of that name in the Bounty, and was eighteen years of age. Thursday October Christian was, of course, so named from the day and month of his birth. He had attained the age of twenty-four, and was married to Susannah,* widow of Edward Young, and one of the few survivors of the Tahitian women who had sailed in the Bounty to Pitcairn. Here, then, at length, was Pitcairn Island, the asylum of the mutineers! They as well as Folger had approached it unexpectedly; for Captain Carteret, who, as we have said, discovered the island in 1767,† had placed it on the chart three degrees out of its true longitude.

The robust appearance and height of the two young men, especially those of Thursday October Christian,‡ were

* She died in 1850, and was then the sole survivor of the original party.

† He named it "Pitcairn" after the young midshipman who descried it from the mast-head of his ship at a distance of fifteen miles. This youth, the son of Major Pitcairn, of the Marines (killed at the battle of Bunker's Hill), was himself lost in the Aurora frigate.

‡ In this he must now have closely resembled his father, Fletcher Christian, who, according to Peter Heywood's description, had a bright, pleasing countenance, and tall, commanding figure, well adapted to those feats of strength and agility which he so frequently exhibited on the passage out to Tahiti.

very striking. His jet-black hair flowed down his shoulders, and although his complexion was dark, and much tanned from exposure, in neither Young nor himself was there the red tinge of skin so common among the Pacific Islanders. The deportment of the young men, their whole bearing, and their natural easy manners, which were as much removed from undue familiarity as from all conventional shyness and restraint, interested every one on board. Sir Thomas Staines himself conducted them over the ship, where every object was new and wonderful in their estimation. The sight of a cow seemed not only to astonish but to alarm them—they seemed to think it a large goat—while a little black terrier excited their warm admiration. "I know that is a dog," exclaimed Edward Young, naïvely. "I have read of such things." Although strangers to mechanical contrivances, and to most of the useful arts of civilized life, they displayed an intelligent appreciation of every thing they saw, and were eager for information on all subjects connected with the ship. At the close of this singular and interesting visit, Sir T. Staines ordered refreshments to be prepared in his own cabin; but before sitting down, they devoutly folded their hands and repeated the usual short grace, a blessing upon the food of which they were about to partake, and at the conclusion of the repast repeated another, which they said had been taught them by their revered pastor, John Adams.* Strange, indeed, it must have been to witness the simple earnest piety of these young Christians, living so far from all civilized lands, and in the vicinity of islands whose people were sunk in heathen barbarism and ignorance, and some of them even addicted to cannibalism.

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* After the visit of Captain Folger, Alexander Smith had changed his name to John Adams, to avoid recognition.

As Christian and Young entreated their hosts to accompany them on shore to see their pastor and teacher, Adams, Sir T. Staines and Captain Pipon placed themselves under the guidance of the young islanders, whose skill carried them safely through the surf and past the rocks to the landing-place. It required no small exertion to get on shore and up the steep ascent to the village, where Adams, his blind wife, and the whole community stood ready to receive them. Having ascertained that the strangers intended no harm to their beloved father—as the islanders termed Adams—they willingly assented to his conducting the captains to his house.

The old man (Adams) stood with his hat in his hand while conversing with them, and smoothed his scanty locks according to the fashion of sailors of the olden time. Although little more than fifty, and very healthy and robust in appearance, his countenance was aged and worn, betraying marks of anxious thought. If the sight of the well-known naval uniform, and the consciousness that the two officers must view him as a man amenable to the laws of his country, awakened any painful feelings in the sailor's mind, in neither his manner nor his conversation did he evince any. Many years had passed away, and he felt, perhaps, how sincere had been his repentance; perhaps also he took courage in believing that the fruits of it, as shown in his after-life, might be accepted at a higher tribunal than that of man. He frankly disclosed all the terrible circumstances which had occurred, although he denied being accessory to, or having had previous knowledge of the mutiny. But he expressed great disapprobation of the conduct of Captain Bligh, not only towards the men, but also towards the officers.

"I asked him," writes Captain Pipon, "if he had any desire to return to England, and I must confess his reply-

ing in the affirmative caused me great surprise. He told me he was perfectly aware how deeply he was involved; that by following the fortunes of Christian he had not only sacrificed every claim to his country, but that his life was a necessary forfeit for such an act, which he supposed would be exacted from him were he ever to return. Notwithstanding all these circumstances, 'nothing,' he said, 'would give him so much gratification as to see once more before he died that country which gave him birth, and from which he had been so long estranged.' There was a sincerity in his speech," continues Captain Pipon, "which I can hardly describe, but it had a powerful influence in persuading me these were his real sentiments. My interest was excited to so great a degree that I offered him a passage for himself, with any of his family who chose to accompany him. He appeared pleased at the proposal, and as no one was then present, he sent for his wife and children, while the rest of the community surrounded the door. He communicated his desire to them, and requested their acquiescence. Appalled at such a proposal, no less sudden than in opposition to their wishes, they were all at a loss for a reply. His charming daughter, although overwhelmed with tears, first broke the silence. 'Oh! do not, sirs,' said she, 'take from me my father; do not take away my best, my dearest friend!' Her voice failed her; she was unable to proceed. She leaned her head on her hand, and gave full vent to her grief. His wife also (a Tahitian woman) expressed the most lively sorrow."

The wishes of Adams soon became known among the others, who joined in pathetic solicitations for his stay in the island. Not an eye was dry; tears even stood in those of the men, and the women wept bitterly.

"I never witnessed a scene so truly affecting, or more

replete with interest," wrote Captain Pipon. "To have taken him from a circle of such friends would have ill become a feeling heart. To have forced him away in opposition to their joint and earnest entreaties would have been an outrage on humanity." An assurance that no such design was meditated soon restored tranquillity to the community—a community pledged to each other by the tenderest connections, consanguinity and reciprocal affection.

When Adams was questioned as to the mutiny, and the events which took place on board the Bounty after the mutineers had separated from the rest of the officers and crew, and had left Tahiti, he seemed averse to say more than his guests already knew concerning the tragical events which occurred soon after the first settlement at Pitcairn. As the recollection seemed to give him much pain, they forbore to press him on the subject, especially finding themselves surrounded by so many young people, who were probably ignorant of the extent of the crimes and sufferings of their forefathers.

Impressed as the officers were with the moral aspect of the community, they were not less struck with the natural beauty of their island home, which was truly a "garden of Eden." Its lofty mountains towered to a height of 1008 feet above the level of the ocean, and around their craggy pinnacles myriads of sea-birds wheeled in mazy circles. Groves of palm and cocoa-nut trees—and especially the beautiful bread-fruit tree, the staff of life to the islanders—clothed the bare rocks down to the water's edge. In the deep valleys flourished in profusion most of the tropical fruits, among which were the Taro-root, from which bread could be made, the Ti-plant (*Dracæna terminalis*) and other valuable edible productions. The climate, also, would admit with care of the cultivation of

European fruits and vegetables, as the range of the temperature was from 76° to 80° in summer, and seldom fell below 59° in winter.

No feathered songsters, however, enlivened these forests, with the exception of one small species of fly-catcher; but in after years this want was supplied by an importation of little warblers taken there by Captain Prevost, in the Virago, from Valparaiso. He introduced also a variety of roses and myrtles.

In the midst of this beautiful scenery, and beneath the banana, the plantain, and the wide-spreading banyan, stood the pretty village of Pitcairn, on an elevated platform of rock. The several houses surrounded a large grassy square, securely guarded by palisades, to preserve it from the depredations of the poultry, hogs, and goats, which were allowed to roam at liberty about the island. On one side of the square stood the house of Smith (*alias* Adams); on another, that of Thursday October Christian. These, and all the little dwellings which clustered around them, were formed of wood, had generally two stories, and were substantially constructed. Their internal arrangements bespoke great cleanliness and comfort, and the beds and bedding were remarkably neat. European habits were visible in the farming arrangements, as each dwelling had a pen for fattening hogs, another for fowls, a bakery, and a building for the manufacture of cloth. The linen was made of the bark of the paper* mulberry-tree, macerated in water, and then beaten out to the desired thickness by large pieces of wood.* This manufacture

* "There were three varieties of cloth, obtained respectively from the paper-mulberry (which was the best), the bread-fruit tree, and a kind of fig; this last, though less ornamental, was more useful than the others, because it resisted water, which they did not. All three kinds were made in the same way."—Ellis's *Polynesian Researches.*

formed the employment of the elder women, the younger working with their fathers and brothers in the plantations, cultivating yams and sweet potatoes. Adams on this account discouraged very early marriages, as the girls would then necessarily be occupied with the care of their children, and he inculcated among the young men the necessity of having made some previous provision for a family before entering into a matrimonial engagement.

"If," says Captain Pipon, "we remarked with much admiration the fine athletic young men around us, the appearance of the women was equally pleasing, some really handsome, and one and all well-grown and finely formed, much owing, probably, to the mountainous nature of the island, and the habit from infancy of ascending and descending the rocks with great weights on their shoulders." Both sexes were also expert swimmers. The women's dress was composed of a loose bodice, with a drapery reaching to the ankles, and so disposed as to show the symmetry of their persons, not unlike (it has been said) the robes of the Hindostanee women, and worn as gracefully. Teeth like ivory characterized both men and women, and the latter wore their long black hair neatly braided into a knot at the back of the head, without pin or fastening of any kind; and a wreath ingeniously worked of the sweet-scented nono-tree (*Morinda citrifolia*), sometimes intertwined with others of a brighter hue,* completed their toilet.

Far, however, beyond their personal grace was their modesty and gentle behavior, and Adams assured Sir T. Staines of their excellent conduct. Each person considered whatever he possessed was for the general good, so

* The author has for many years preserved some of these wreaths, which, by the exclusion of the air have, in a great measure, retained their color.

that there was no difficulty in settling disputes; and if hasty words were ever uttered, the offender was but too ready to make ample amends to the injured party.

Adams mentioned that since the visit of Captain Folger no other ship had touched at the island, with the knowledge of the inhabitants, previous to the present visit. Once, however, they had been greatly alarmed by the sight of two vessels, apparently standing in for the island, and a party from one must have landed unobserved in search of cocoa-nuts; for as young Matthew Quintal was descending the rocks he perceived a large clasp-knife lying among a number of broken cocoa-nut shells. The visitors were probably quite unaware of the existence of any inhabitants. Quintal rushed back to the village in great alarm, and said he felt like Robinson Crusoe when he saw the print of a human foot on the sand; but happily the cause of alarm was quickly removed, as they saw the two ships in the offing fast receding from sight.*

At length it was necessary to bid these interesting people farewell, and the commanders of the frigates assured them that they would represent to the Government the admirable state of the community, and that the authorities would certainly not feel justified in attempting to remove their honored pastor and instructor, Adams. Under the skillful guidance of Christian and Young, who had brought them on shore, the visitors returned to their ship. There a liberal supply of articles necessary for the comfort of the islanders, which they were otherwise unable to obtain, was placed in the canoe, and, with warm adieux on all sides, the young men returned to their expectant friends, and the ships continued their voyage to Valparaiso.

* Adams, wishing his flock to remain as long as possible in ignorance of the outer world, allowed them to imagine that the objects they had seen on the water had come through a hole in the horizon where the sun rose.

The letters which Sir T. Staines and Captain Pipon addressed to the Admiralty produced no results, that Board finding more important occupation in vigorously prosecuting the war. And thus again, for some years, Pitcairn Island fell out of public notice.

At length a whale-ship, in want of water and provisions, happened to touch at Pitcairn, and one of her crew named John Buffett, a man of an earnest turn of mind, and some amount of education, was so impressed with the admirable character of the little community that he requested permission to remain and assist Adams in his onerous duties, and at all events relieve him from those of school-master. This proposition was gladly accepted by the pastor and his flock, and Buffett was duly installed as their preceptor, his captain willingly giving him his discharge for that purpose. Up to that period John Buffett's life had been full of adventure. He was born in 1797, at a village near Bristol, and was apprenticed at an early age to a cabinet-maker, but, preferring a sea-faring life, he joined a small Newfoundland trader. While still a youth, he entered the American merchant-service, and was wrecked in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Most of the crew perished, but with incredible difficulty he and a few others saved themselves in the pinnace of the vessel, and after much privation were picked up by some Canadian fishermen. Buffett still continued in the American service, was again shipwrecked, and again with much difficulty rescued from a watery grave. In 1821 he returned to London, went on board an English vessel bound for China; from whence he proceeded to Manilla, and afterwards to California, where he remained some months, and then joining an English whaler on a homeward voyage, he was left by her at Pitcairn, where, after so many vicissitudes, the young wanderer found at last a congenial occupation and a peaceful home.

Not many years elapsed before another sea-faring man, John Evans, a sailor on board of some unknown vessel, and the son of a coach-maker in Long Acre, requested permission to remain as a member of the community, and being, like Buffett, a worthy and an educated man, Adams gladly accepted his services. Each eventually married a Pitcairn girl, and thus two other names were included in the roll of the inhabitants.

In the year 1825 the Blossom, Captain Beechey, which had been fitted out for a voyage of discovery, touched at the island, and the unusual sight of a man-of-war occasioned some uneasiness there, especially in the mind of Buffett, who had first observed her pennant. However, Adams and some of the young islanders put off in a boat to welcome another of His Majesty's ships, and Captain Beechey, with two of his boats, accompanied them on shore, where they were cordially received. Their residence of three weeks confirmed the statements of former visitors, and as Captain Beechey and his party were entertained in turn at the different houses, he had ample opportunity for gaining information and noticing the proceedings of the islanders. Sunday was observed with remarkable strictness, and there were altogether five services in the day. All preparation for their meals was made the day before, that there might be no undue work on the Sabbath. Their fare was simple and wholesome, consisting of pork or fowl —baked between stones, according to the Tahitian fashion —vegetables, and bread or pudding made of the Taro-root, and abundance of bread-fruit. Their drink was water, or an infusion of Ti-root flavored with ginger, and sweetened with sugar-cane. After the fatal experiment made by Quintal and M'Koy of extracting an ardent spirit from this root, Adams determined never to taste spirituous liquors himself, and strictly enjoined the observance of the

same rule on the islanders, prohibiting all attempts at distillation.

The worthy pastor spent a few days on board the Blossom, a guest in the captain's cabin, who writes that "the old man never failed to rise early in the morning to perform his devotions in some retired corner, nor did he neglect the same duty before retiring to rest at night."

At this period there seemed no scarcity of water on the island, the mutineers on their first arrival having cut large tanks in the rocks, and the number having subsequently been increased. The only natural supply was a small stream which fell from the precipitous rocks at one end of the island. Captain Beechey, however, foresaw the results to which this state of things would lead, and memorialized the Admiralty to the effect that, as the population increased, there would be a scarcity of water and food, as the island was only four miles and a half in circumference, and therefore much restricted in ground for cultivation.

In the course of conversation with Adams, and before taking a final leave, Captain Beechey pressed him on the subject of the mutiny. He denied all complicity in it; it seemed, indeed, to have passed from his memory that he was actually the third man on deck when the seizure of the ship took place. On another point he was also singularly inaccurate; that of accusing young Stewart of advising Christian, his superior officer, to take the vessel. In the confusion which must have ensued on such an event, he could not have known what passed between Christian and Stewart when the latter went down to summon Christian to take the watch, and must either have forgotten, or never heard, that Christian had taken upon himself the blame of *originating* the mutiny,* although, after the fatal

* See chap. iii., foot-note, p. 56.

step, so many had entered actively into the plan. Up to this period of time Adams had invariably evaded all inquiries as to the burial-place of Fletcher Christian, alleging his utter ignorance of the spot; a statement which had given rise to many rumors and conjectures.* However, the question being put direct by Captain Beechey, he answered that "Christian had been buried in his own garden."

The year 1828 was marked in the annals of the island by the arrival of a third sea-faring man, George Hunn Nobbs. Glad to escape all the toils, sufferings, and dangers to which he had been exposed for many years of his life, he wished, with the permission of the islanders, to seek a sphere of quiet usefulness among them. For some years he had formed a desire to settle at Pitcairn Island, but found many difficulties in the way of obtaining funds for the voyage thither. He entered himself as mate on board

* About the year 1809, a report prevailed in Cumberland, in the neighborhood of his native place, and was current for several years, that Christian had returned home, and that he had lived and died in concealment in England; an assumption so utterly inconsistent with facts related in the last chapter as to be considered impossible. In the same year, however, a singular incident occurred. Captain Heywood, who was fitting out at Plymouth, happened one day to pass down Fore Street, when a man of unusual stature, very much muffled, and with his hat drawn close over his eyes, emerged suddenly from a small side street, and walked quickly past him. The height, athletic figure, and gait, so impressed him as being that of Fletcher Christian, that, quickening his pace till he came up with the stranger, he said, in a tone of voice only loud enough to be heard by him, "Fletcher Christian!" The man turned quickly round and faced his interrogator, but little of his countenance was visible, and darting up one of the small streets, he vanished from his sight. Captain Heywood hesitated for a moment, but decided on giving up the pursuit, and on not instituting any inquiries. Any recognition would have been painful as well as dangerous to Christian, and it also seemed scarcely within the bounds of probability that he should be in England. Remarkable as was this occurrence, Captain Heywood attached no importance to it, simply considering it a singular coincidence.

a vessel bound to Sierra Leone and back, then went to Calcutta, where he left his vessel, and proceeded in another to the Cape, hoping to procure a passage to Pitcairn by one of the numerous whale-ships which were in the habit of calling there for supplies; but he was taken ill, and unable to move for some time.

As no opportunity offered, he crossed to Valparaiso, and finding no prospect there of recruiting his exhausted finances, he went as mate of a vessel to Callao. There he became acquainted with a man named Bunker, who had been master of a merchant bark, and was then proprietor of a launch of eighteen tons burden. The health of Bunker was so impaired, and his circumstances so reduced, that he could not fit her out. Mr. Nobbs therefore undertook the task, on the understanding that he was to become part proprietor, and that Bunker should accompany him on the voyage to Pitcairn. He spent the little money he possessed in fitting out the vessel, and the two men embarked alone on this voyage of 3500 miles. Fortunately they had a fine-weather passage, and accomplished it in six weeks. From fatigue and want of sleep during that period, Bunker became so ill that he died a few weeks after his arrival at Pitcairn; and the launch having been hauled up on the rocky shore of the island, her timbers and wood-work served for the construction of a house for Mr. Nobbs,* who became, like Evans and Buffett, a permanent settler in the colony.

The year 1829 was one of deep mourning to our islanders. On March 29th, aged 65, died John Adams, their venerated pastor and teacher. His was a life, the com-

* He married Sarah Christian, grand-daughter of Fletcher Christian, the mutineer, whose son Charles, father of Sarah, married the little Tahitian girl brought by her mother to Pitcairn when she was only ten months old (see chap. iii., p. 53), and who thus became the mother of Mrs. Nobbs.

mencement of which had been marked by terrible and unusual events, but one that ended most peacefully. He passed away in the presence of his family and of his affectionate flock, all of whom loved and revered him as a parent.

The son of a lighterman and brother of a waterman of London, John Adams had picked up his little stock of knowledge from printed papers collected in London streets and elsewhere, by the help of which he had taught himself reading and writing. Such was his slender amount of acquirements, when at the age of twenty-two he joined the Bounty as an able-bodied seaman, and at twenty-four found himself on Pitcairn Island, the only protector of so many helpless human beings. Well did he acquit himself of his mission! By the mercy of God, and by the aid of his Bible and Prayer-book, which he had so earnestly studied, John Adams succeeded in establishing such a community as has been the dream of poets and the aspiration of philosophers; and the result of his humble endeavors was shown by the exercise "of all that is lovely and of good report" in the isolated Pitcairn colony, far away in the vast Pacific Ocean.

CHAPTER III.

George Hunn Nobbs succeeds John Adams as Pastor of Pitcairn Island.—Emigration to Tahiti.—Return.—Arrival of Joshua Hill.—Arbitrary Proceedings.—Joshua Hill removed from Pitcairn.

The death of John Adams was a serious blow to the islanders; but he had appointed George Hunn Nobbs, who had a vocation for the ministry, to succeed him in the pastoral office. In addition to a fair amount of education, Mr. Nobbs possessed some knowledge of medicine and surgery, and exercised his skill with much benefit to the community. He was often sorely tried by the want of necessary remedies, the arrival of supplies being very precarious; but his unwearying watchfulness and care greatly tended to alleviate the sufferings of his patients.*

In 1830, the colony consisted of eighty-seven persons, when a long drought, together with a bad season for their plantations, gave rise to fears that they might be overtaken by famine. It had long been a matter of grave consideration that, as their numbers increased, the want of water would be severely felt; and in consequence, a proposal was made to the islanders by the Government to remove them to Tahiti. This proposal in due course was submitted to Queen Pomaré, who seconded it with great

* Mr. Nobbs's remuneration (for in course of time this new arrangement was established) consisted, as pastor, in his house being kept in repair, while, as surgeon, he received three acres of land for cultivation, and, as school-master, the value of a shilling a month each from twenty-five to thirty scholars. But to the children of large families, whose parents could not afford to pay, he gave instruction gratis.

THE REV. G. H. NOBBS.

zeal, and agreed to receive them into her dominions. There was, however, great difference of opinion among the Pitcairners as to the desirability of the change. Some were willing to leave the island; others (and among them Mr. Nobbs) were much opposed to the measure. But the strong ties of relationship and affection which bound together all the members of the little colony finally prevailed; and they determined not to separate. Early in March, 1831, they all embarked in a Government vessel, the Sarah Anne, and arrived at Tahiti on the 21st of the same month. A tract of rich land was assigned to them by the queen, and the Tahitians assisted in collecting wood, and also in constructing houses for their new friends, whom they looked upon as relations. One old woman came from a distance to recognize a long-lost sister in one of the surviving women who had left Tahiti in the Bounty. To the Pitcairners, however, the climate was peculiarly unfavorable, for sickness soon broke out among them; and Thursday October Christian, the first born on Pitcairn Island, fell a victim to this prevailing malady.

Their simple austere mode of life, and their rectitude of conduct, rendered the licentious and lax morality of the Tahitians most repugnant to the Pitcairn people; and, notwithstanding the kind hospitality shown them—especially by the queen—they determined, if even at their own expense, to return to their beloved island home. Some months before the general removal, the Buffett family, and some other, returned to Pitcairn; but they found it a wilderness, and the plantations destroyed by the live-stock which had run wild during their absence. In September, 1831, an American brig brought away all the remaining families from Tahiti, and the queen, who had adopted Reuben Nobbs, and wished to bring him up with her own children, allowed him to accompany his parents, notwith-

standing her own disinclination to part with the boy. The first care of the Pitcairners, after their return, was to restore the ravaged plantations and repair the houses; and thus, by industry and labor, the settlement soon resumed its wonted aspect of cleanliness and comfort.

The year 1832 was marked by a series of events—sad proofs of the instability of all human arrangements, and also of the facility with which, through their best and most generous feelings, the minds of this simple and unsophisticated community might be warped, and their judgment distorted, by the designs of artful impostors. Their passionate feeling of loyalty to the Government, and to the country of their forefathers, was proverbial among all who had ever visited the island. To belong to England, to be looked upon as subjects of the queen, was the height of their ambition. Hence their anxiety to act under authority betrayed them into a snare laid for them by an elderly man, one Joshua Hill, who said he had left England by order of the Government to live at Pitcairn for the benefit of the inhabitants. He boasted of the great powers with which he had been invested by the authorities at home, and that he could at any time summon a ship of war to uphold his dignity. John Buffett received this gentleman into his house with great delight, and all the inhabitants treated him with more than their usual kindness and hospitality. By promises and by presents, he succeeded in detaching them from their allegiance to their pastor, and said he would undertake that office himself. A reign of terror soon became fully established, and this impersonation of despotism declared his intention of ridding himself of Mr. Nobbs and the other Englishmen on the island by "starvation, flogging, or hanging." Mr. Nobbs was in continual fear of his life from the conduct of this man, and when he was overtaken by severe illness arising from anx-

iety, his friends were forbidden to visit him, and he was also debarred the use of the necessary remedies to which he was entitled out of the general medicine-chest of the island.

Hill's next proceedings were directed against Buffett, whose guest he had been, and who had shown him so much kindness. The treatment experienced by him is related in the following letter addressed either to the Right Honorable Lord James Townshend, Senior Captain on the West Coast of South America, or to Rear-admiral Sir Michael Seymour, Commander-in-chief — to which of these officers does not appear; but it will be seen how arbitrary had been the conduct of Hill in the verdict pronounced on the mock trial to which Buffett had been subjected:

"Pitcairn Island, 1834.

"HONORED SIR,—I hope you will excuse the liberty I take in writing to you, which I doubt not you will, when you are informed in what critical circumstances I am placed. In December, 1823, on our return to England,* we touched at Pitcairn Island, and by desire of the natives and consent of our captain, I went on shore to teach their children to read, etc., which I did to their satisfaction. Mr. Nobbs arriving soon after, became their teacher; since then I have lived as a private individual, on good terms with the natives. After going to Tahiti with them, and remaining there about three weeks, I procured a passage for myself, my wife, and family, and arrived at Pitcairn Island about three months before the rest of the natives. After they all arrived, we all lived together upon friendly terms, until the arrival of Mr. Joshua Hill from Tahiti, in October, 1832, who stated that he had been sent out by the British Government, and whatever he was in want of he would procure from England, New South Wales, or Valparaiso.

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* It will be remembered that Buffett was a sailor, and wished to remain at Pitcairn.

"By means of such promises, and by his making them believe that whatever heretofore had been sent out was by his influence, he has gained the favor of a few natives, and appointed three elders and two privy councillors. He has framed laws and built a prison; and should any of the natives refuse to obey him, let his proposals be ever so unjust, he tells them he will send to England for a governor, and a regiment of soldiers. By such means, he has persuaded the islanders to sign a petition to Government to deprive us Englishmen and our children of their lands; and I am ordered, with my wife and children, to leave the island. His plea (J. H.'s) is, that there is not land sufficient. At the same time, he has proposed to send to England for English ladies, for wives for the youths of the island; and because I made known his plan of sending my wife and family off the island, I had a mock trial, on which Mr. Hill was judge, jury, and executioner.

"After Mr. Hill's beating me over the head, breaking it in two places, and likewise my finger, I was suspended by my hands in the church, and flogged until I was not able to walk home. I have been from this treatment confined to my bed for two weeks, and it was several weeks before I was able to work, or have the use of my hand; my wife at the same time was ill and not able to work, and Mr. J. Hill would not allow the natives to visit me or my wife, not even her own sister, but literally tried to starve us. Charles Christian, the oldest man on the island, was brutally treated, and burned out of his house, for trying to prevent my being flogged; and because the women assembled crying shame on his (Mr. H.'s) proceedings, he, Mr. Hill, on the Sunday following read the Riot Act, and told them, should they do so again, the authorities would be justified in shooting them. He then sent his colleagues—as he is pleased to call them—to take possession of our fire-arms, which they loaded with ball, and Mr. J. Hill has since kept them in his possession. Since this, sir, not only the lives of the English residents, but some of the natives, have been in danger from the mali-

cious temper of Mr. J. Hill. He has been the means of depriving one of my children of the land left her by her grandfather, and he proposes to deprive the others also, and as they grow up, to send them to sea as cabin-boys, etc. He wished Captain Freemantle, of H.M.S. Challenger, who touched at Pitcairn Island in February, 1832, to remove me from the island; but he (Capt. F.) would not. Since that, he has been trying all in his power to prejudice the natives against me. Captain T. Stavers has been so kind as to give me a passage to Tahiti, when I shall endeavor to get a passage for my family, either to Lord Howe's Island or Kappa. In the mean time, I humbly hope, sir, you will use your influence to get Mr. Hill removed from Pitcairn Island; it is the desire of most of the inhabitants. The land that Mr. Hill wishes to deprive my children of is their mother's portion, left by her father (Edward Young, of the Bounty).

"If, sir, you would condescend to write me a few lines, informing me how to act, to the care of Mr. Pritchard, British Consul, Tahiti, you will greatly oblige your most humble servant.

"(Signed) J. Buffett."

The following extract from the sentence pronounced upon John Buffett will show the lengths to which the arrogance of this Joshua Hill induced him to proceed with the unfortunate islanders. In fact, it is almost difficult to say which is most contemptible in the whole proceeding—the act itself, or the absurd documents by which it was carried out.

(Copy.)

"Pitcairn Island, 5th of August, 1833.

"It only remains with us to declare the sentence of the law, which is:—And this Court doth accordingly adjudge, that you receive forthwith three dozen lashes with a cat upon the bare back and breech, together with a fine of three barrels of yams or potatoes, to be paid within one

month, or in default thereof, an extra barrel will be required for this reiterated contempt of Court.

"(Signed, etc., by the whole Court.)

"Moreover, John Buffett, the sentence of the Court is, that whether with or without your family, you are to leave this island by the first vessel that may present herself; for if you do not, punishment and imprisonment will be the consequence.

"(Signed by the whole Court.)

"N.B.—And, moreover, it is resolved by the Court that in case you, John Buffett, shall presume to deviate from the reiterated promises which you made to the said Court, on the 5th instant, touching your future rule of action (*i. e.*, good conduct, and the assurances which you then made duly to respect the public functionaries of this island whilst thus you remain upon it), that the residuum of your said punishment (twenty-four from thirty-six) shall be inflicted. But on the contrary it may be observed, *in limine*, that the executive wish always peace and tranquillity and good order, which, with the help of the blessed Lord, it is determined to maintain and enforce. In the event, therefore, of a manifest reformation of your rule of action, and erroneous actions and principles, the executive is ever ready and willing to take into due consideration, so far as circumstances may permit, and may prove compatible with the general interest and welfare of the commonwealth, touching the premises, and in relation to the said rule of action which you may hereafter think just to pursue, and the good behavior which circumstances render it expedient that you should adopt; otherwise, in due course, the said balance of a dozen or fourteen* which still remain due to you, must be settled accordingly.

"(Signed, etc., aforesaid by the Court.)

"I hereby certify that the foregoing are true extracts

* Probably hinting that Buffett had not received the prescribed number of lashes.

and copies from the originals deposited in the archives, Pitcairn Island, 5th of August, 1833.

"(Signed) J. HILL.

"To JOHN BUFFETT, Pitcairn Island."

"I hereby certify that this is a true copy.

"(Signed) F. D. BENNETT."*

The following letter—like that written by J. Buffett—is addressed either to Lord James Townshend, or to Rear-admiral Sir Michael Seymour:

"*The humble Petition of* JOHN EVANS, *ten years resident on Pitcairn Island.*

"Sheweth,—That your petitioner landed on Pitcairn in the year 1823, and, after a residence of twelve months, was united in marriage with the second daughter of the late John Adams (by his consent). From that period your petitioner continued to live in peace and harmony with the natives, and maintained himself and family in a comfortable manner. Your petitioner accompanied the Pitcairn people to Tahiti, and, while there, assisted them as much as lay in his power. At their return, the natives were perfectly agreeable that your petitioner should return with them, and resume possession of his wife's land, etc. Things went on in their usual train for twelve months after our return, when a Mr. Joshua Hill arrived at Pitcairn, who informed your petitioner he was come by authority of the British Government to adjust the internal affairs of the island, and that he had sent orders to Valparaiso for H.M.S. Dublin to come and take him on board, and convey him to the Marquesas Islands in a diplomatic capacity. Your petitioner gave credit to Mr. Hill's assertions, and treated him with all possible respect, also cheerfully contributing to his support; but scarcely had

* The surgeon of the Tuscan, who had humanely attended the sufferers.

Mr. Hill been on shore three weeks when he attempted to persuade your petitioner's wife to leave him, saying he would take her under his protection, and supply her with every thing she wanted; adding, 'I will cause the first captain of a man-of-war who arrives to remove these lousy foreigners from the island.' My wife refused to do as he wished, and from that time he became her declared enemy. Shortly afterwards a ship-of-war arrived, the captain of which declared he knew nothing of Mr. Hill, neither had he (Mr. Hill) any authority from the British Government. Mr. Hill used every means in his power, by misrepresentations and gross falsehood, to induce Captain Freemantle to remove me from the island. This Captain Freemantle refused, saying he had a good opinion of me, and should not separate me from my family. Captain Freemantle severely reprimanded Mr. Hill for his conduct towards the English residents, and desired him to alter his conduct towards them; this Mr. Hill promised to do, but malice and falsehood are prominent traits in the character of Joshua Hill. No sooner was Captain Freemantle gone, than Mr. Hill (vexed that he had not gained his point) became more outrageous than ever; he still asserted he was sent out by the British Government, that Captain Freemantle was no gentleman, and denounced vengeance on every native who did not join with him in oppressing the lousy foreigners. Whenever a ship appeared in sight, two confidential men were dispatched on board to forbid the captains and officers holding any communication with foreigners on shore, and we were prohibited under pains and penalties from going on board. In May last, a prison was built for the avowed purpose of confining the Englishmen and their friends by force, and in July a law was enacted relative to high treason. Your petitioner requested a copy of this as a guide for his future conduct; Mr. Hill refused to give him one, flew into a violent rage; and, shortly after, your petitioner was dragged to the church, underwent a mock trial—no witnesses being allowed—and received one dozen lashes with a cat-o'-nine-tails, each tail being the size

of a man's little finger. Your petitioner was so much hurt about the head, eyes, and ribs, as to be confined to his bed for ten days. From this time the state of things became desperate, and your petitioner was under continual alarm for the lives of himself and family. Mr. Hill and his colleagues were continually threatening the life of some one or other, and your petitioner firmly believes, had it not been for the opportune arrival of the ship Tuscan, Captain R. T. Stavers, murder would have been shortly committed. Captain Stavers, seeing the untoward state of affairs, humanely consented to give your petitioner a passage to Tahiti. And now, Honored Sir, will you permit your petitioner to hope you will commiserate my unhappy condition? Neither the natives nor Mr. Hill can bring any serious charge against me, as Captain Stavers and Dr. Bennett can certify, and yet your petitioner is banished from family and home, merely to gratify the malevolence of Mr. Hill. Your petitioner humbly begs that your Honor will restore your petitioner again to his wife and family, that he may support them by his labor.

"And your petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray," etc., etc.

Finally, the three Englishmen were compelled to leave the island with their families. Mr. Nobbs and John Evans proceeded to the Gambier Islands, situated three hundred miles from Pitcairn. Buffett preferred returning to Tahiti; but soon after left it, and rejoined his two friends. And thus Joshua Hill's authority became absolute in the island.

The letter which we now insert was written by Joshua Hill during the height of his power and fancied security, and serves to show the character of the man who had so completely deluded the poor Pitcairners. Considering their simplicity, and their utter ignorance of the world, we must not blame them, when we look at home, and observe, even at the present day, the marvellous influence

designing impostors gain over the minds of educated and intelligent people.

"Pitcairn, June, 1834.

"I am aware that pedantry and egotism become no one, and myself, perhaps, less than any* (Prov. xxvii. 2). But, for certain reasons, the following credentials, as a memorandum, I hope will be pardoned on the present occasion —they are truths.

"I observe, *in limine*, that I have visited the four quarters of the globe, and that it has ever been my desire to maintain, as far as lay in my power, the standing of an English gentleman. I have lived a considerable while in a palace, and had my dinner-parties, with a princess on my right and a general's lady on my left. I have had a French cook, and a box at the opera. I have drove my dress-carriage (thought the neatest then in Paris, where I spent five or six years; as well, I have known Calcutta) with the handsomest lady (said), Madame Récamier, to grace my carriage. I have drove a curricle with two outriders and two saddle-horses, besides a travelling-carriage, a valet, coachman, footman, groom, and, upon extraordinary occasions, my *maître d'hotel*. I have (at her request) visited Madame Bonaparte at the Tuileries, St. Cloud, and Malmaison. I might thus mention many others of note abroad. I have frequently dined with that remarkable woman, Madame Carbanas, afterwards the Princess de C——. I have had the honor of being in company, *i. e.*, at the same parties, with both his late Majesty George IV., then prince-regent, and his present Majesty, William IV., then H.R.H. Duke of Clarence; as well as with their royal brothers. I have ridden in a royal duke's carriage with four horses and three footmen, more than once; and have dined at his table, and drunk the old hock of his late father George III. I have visited the Falls of Niagara and Montmorency, the Natural Bridge in Virginia, the great Reciprocating Fountain in East Ten-

* Brodie, p. 211.

nessee, the great Temple of Elephanta at Bombay. I have dined with a prince, as well as with a princess; and with a count, a baron, an ambassador, a minister (ordinary and extraordinary), and have travelled with one for some weeks. I have dined with a chargé d'affaires, and lived with consuls, etc. I have visited and conversed with 'Red Jacket,' the great Indian warrior. I have visited and been visited by a bishop. I have frequently partook of the delicious Hungarian wine (tokay), Prince Esterhazy's; as also of Prince Swartzenburgh's old hock, said to have been seventy-three years old; and I am intimate with the brother-in-law of this last German nobleman. I have dined with a principal Hong-kong merchant at Canton. I have sat next to the beautiful Madame Récamier and Madame Carbanas, at the great dinner-parties. I have written to the Prime-minister of England, and have received the answer (late Earl of Liverpool's) with his thanks, etc. I have made a common silk net for a certain fashionable marchioness, which she actually wore at her next great party of five or six hundred persons. I have danced with the Countess Bertrand, *i. e.*, Mademoiselle Fanny Dillon, before she married the marshal. I was at Napoleon's coronation. I have been invited to the lord mayor's, and to a dinner of an alderman of London; to those also of the first merchants and bankers, as the late Mr. Thelusson (afterwards Lord Rendlesham), the formerly rich Mrs. A. and B. Goldsmiths, etc. And at Paris I have had a credit of 400,000 francs at one time, on the house of Perregan, Lafitte, etc., and other bankers at Paris for considerable sums; Delepent & Co. for 40,000 francs; and Récamiers at one time for upwards of 100,000 francs. I have had at a time nearly £5000 sterling at the Bank of England. I wrote and published in the London 'Morning Post' (7th of March, 1811) on naval power. I have seen the Vestrises, father, son, and grandson, at once (the only time), dance on a stage at the opera at Paris. I have given a passage to many on board my ship, but never in my life received a farthing as passage-money from any

person. I am decidedly against the use of ardent spirits (malt liquor may do for those who like it), tobacco, etc. And as for wine, that only at dinner; it even then ought to be good, if not the very best, as the *gourmet* would have it, when speaking of Clos-vaugeaut and Romance, etc. I have had a fine band of music on board my ship, and my four kinds of wine on my table. (I am not sleeping on a 'bed of roses' now, but in an humble hut or cabin.) After all, what does the foregoing amount to? Vanity of vanities. I will merely add that I have had a year in the Church of Christ, and that I am a life-member in the Bible Society. That I am looking, with the blessed Lord's help, to something of far more intrinsic worth and consideration, 'the prize of our high calling'—the life to come. I am now in my sixty-second year of age, and, of course, it is high time that I should look upon this world as nearly to close on me. I might perhaps say much more, but must stop.* I am now an humble teacher upon Pitcairn Isle for the time being.

"(Signed) J. Hill."

The letters of Mr. Nobbs, Mr. Buffett, and John Evans, and other documents relative to the self-constituted authority of Mr. Hill, having been sent home to the Admiralty, was the occasion of a correspondence with Lord James Townshend, who had forwarded copies of it to Captain Mason, and his reply is as follows:

(Copy.)

"H.M.S. Blonde, Callao, June 2d, 1836.

"Sir,—I had the honor to receive, on the 28th of May, your letter of the 3d of October, 1835, inclosing copies of

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* I have had a member of Parliament, an East Indian director, call on me to ask a favor, which, indeed, no one else could grant. I have his note thus still. And I have had a beautiful Egyptian lady write to me (I have her note also still), the wife of one of Bonaparte's generals.

letters from the Secretary of the Admiralty and Mr. Hay, with other documents relative to the Pitcairn Islanders, and desiring me to go or send a vessel there to investigate the conduct of Mr. Hill, and to undeceive the people as to his authority, etc. In reply, I beg to inform you that I have always felt a strong interest in that most exemplary and Christian society, and that nothing but the revolutionary state of Peru since February last, and a foreign war since June, which has placed the persons and property of His Majesty's subjects, in common with other foreign merchants, in great hazard, together with the loss of the Challenger, has prevented my going or sending; but in consequence of various letters which I received as far back as December, 1834, I wrote at various times to the victims of Mr. Hill's tyranny and oppression, and to Mr. Pritchard at Tahiti, informing them of my firm conviction that he had no right to assume any authority on the island, much less to use corporal punishment, or to send any of the inhabitants away. I will, however, take the earliest opportunity of going or sending a vessel there, and hope to hear that the letters I wrote produced the desired effect of releasing the inhabitants from Mr. Hill's tyranny and oppression, and of restoring to the island those whom he had driven away. I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

"(Signed) FRANCIS MASON.

"LORD JAMES TOWNSHEND,
"Commander-in-chief, etc., West Coast, South America."

Captain Mason, in another letter, says, "I regret that that once interesting and exemplary colony should be under the influence of such a man."

Happily, this reign of terror on Pitcairn Island was drawing to a close, and in a manner calculated to undeceive the credulous islanders as to the unfounded pretensions of Joshua Hill. He had asserted, in addition to other absurd declarations, that he was a near relative of the Duke of Bedford; and it was a remarkable circumstance

that the next ship of war which touched at Pitcairn after the visit of Captain Seymour in the Challenger was the Actæon, commanded by Lord Edward Russell, in 1837. No one was more astonished than Hill himself at this unexpected arrival of a member of the Bedford family; and had Lord Edward's orders authorized such a proceeding, he would have removed Hill from the island, feeling justly indignant at his tyrannical conduct and his falsehoods.

In the following year, 1838, this measure was carried out by the Honorable Captain H. W. Bruce, commanding H.M.S. Imogene, who was ordered to proceed to Pitcairn, to remove Joshua Hill, and land him at Valparaiso.

From this period no further account has been received of this aged impostor, who, no doubt, has sunk into the contempt and oblivion he merited by his disgraceful conduct. No one, singular to say, seemed to know who he was, or what were his occupations previous to his making this raid upon the poor Pitcairn Islanders.

Immediately on his removal, the islanders sent to Mr. Nobbs and his companions in exile to return, and also offered to pay all the expenses of their voyage from the Gambier Islands. On their arrival at Pitcairn their reception was so enthusiastic and affectionate that it proved it was not by the wish of the community generally that the three families had been dismissed. The following document, which had been written some years previously, was then forwarded to the Admiralty, and testifies to the good feeling which had existed between Mr. Nobbs and his flock until the arrival of Hill:

"Pitcairn Island, December, 1832.

"We, the undersigned heads of families at Pitcairn's Island, do hereby certify that Mr. George Nobbs has conducted himself to our satisfaction ever since he has been on this island; also, we have no fault to find with his

manner of keeping school for the space of four years; and the reason why Mr. Nobbs is dismissed from teaching and school-keeping is in consequence of a disagreement between Mr. Nobbs and Mr. Joshua Hill, who has lately come to reside on this island among us.

"(Signed) George Adams,
Edward Quintal,
Arthur Quintal,
Fletcher Christian,
William Young,
William M'Koy."

CHAPTER IV.

Ships of War visit Pitcairn.—Letter of Captain Wood, R.N.—Arrival of Baron Thierry and others.—Aboriginal Inhabitants of Pitcairn Island.

During the next few years Pitcairn Island was visited by a ship of war, by a missionary vessel, having on board the Rev. Mr. Heath, of London, and several traders and American whalers in want of water and vegetables. Many of these had previously touched at the island for the same purpose, and so strictly honest were the islanders in their dealings, that their word was a sufficient guaranty for the correctness of the settled amount of supplies bartered, such as soap, oil, and other commodities. Even in times of privation and scarcity after a bad season, there was no diminution in amount or increased payment demanded by the islanders for the supplies sent to the ships. The respect which these rough merchantmen and whalers felt for the Pitcairners was such that one sailor declared, "That if any insult were to be offered to any of them, and especially to the female part of the community, a man would not be long alive after he came on board."

H.M.'s ship Curaçoa, Captain Jenkin Jones, arrived most opportunely in August, 1841, when influenza prevailed among the inhabitants of so severe a character as almost to decimate their numbers. Their stock of medicine was expended, and Mr. Nobbs's efforts to arrest the course of the malady seemed unavailing. The surgeon of the ship was sent on shore immediately with all necessary supplies and remedies for the sick, and in the course of a few days many of the sufferers were pronounced convalescent.

Captain Jones, having ascertained the spot where the Bounty had been sunk, succeeded, with some difficulty, in raising the charred hull, and found that such had been the solidity of her timbers, that her "heart of oak" had survived the power of fire and water, and the effects of submersion for half a century.

Various ornamental articles were manufactured out of the remains of the old ship, which the islanders sent as presents to several of their friends in England; and Isabella Christian, widow of the mutineer, although at a very advanced age, confided to the care of Captain Jones several yards of beautifully manufactured tappa cloth as a present to "Peter's wife."* She had a perfect recollection of Peter Heywood, the young midshipman, and also of Captain Cook when he visited Tahiti. She died a month after the Curaçoa left the island, in August, 1841.

In the course of the year 1845 fever again broke out among the islanders, and, at the same time, consumption and rheumatism were rife among them. The recurrence of these maladies simultaneously was traced to circumstances which invariably produced the same results—a long drought, succeeded by two or three weeks of rain, and the wind prevailing from the north-west.

April 16th, 1845, is marked in the island register by the occurrence of a fearful hurricane, which did infinite damage to both trees and plantations, and is thus described by an eye-witness:

"For several days past the weather has been cloudy, with occasional showers. With the wind south-south-west, it began to rain in good earnest. As the sun declined the wind increased. At sunset it blew a gale; all hands employed in securing the roofs of their houses, and

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* The widow of Captain Peter Heywood, R.N.

making all snug before dark. A dirty night was anticipated, and all our fears were realized. At 10 P.M. the wind shifted four or five points to the westward, and the sheet-lightning began to break the monotony of the lucid atmosphere. By midnight a perfect typhoon raged above and around us; the whole course of the heavens was in a continual blaze, and the thunder, although not so very loud, with the exception of one burst, was incessant. From the position of the wind, which veered and hauled four or five points, the houses were a good deal sheltered from its violence, or they most assuredly would have been prostrated; therefore the most of us, who passed a sleepless night, were, in mercy, permitted to remain quiet in our houses. Very frequently during the night loud crashes were heard, which we supposed were the trees in the higher parts of the island yielding to the fury of the storm. The noise did not proceed from the falling and crashing of trees, but from a cause of which at the time we were happily ignorant. At daylight a man, much alarmed, came to my house, saying a part of the island had given way and was falling into the sea. From the door of my house I observed imperfectly a spot from which a portion of earth had been detached, and felt certain that it was an avalanche, occasioned by the wind acting upon the trees, and the torrents of rain which fell detaching the earth from the part above it. So great was the consternation and amazement of the natives, that although they had seen the spot from which the earth had slipped every day of their lives, yet they could not so far collect their ideas as to remember the original appearance of the place, whose property it had been, nor the locality near it. As to the cause of the disruption, various opinions prevailed, and what may be easily referred to natural causes, and those not recondite either, would to persons so inex-

perienced as our community appear both mysterious and awful. I will endeavor to describe in a few words what presented itself to our view at daylight. The place in question was situated at the head of the ravine, and immense pieces of rock were borne along slowly but unresistingly, and about three hundred cocoa-nut trees were torn up by the roots and carried into the sea. So tenacious was the heterogeneous stream, that some, being displaced from their original situation, remained in an upright position for some time, and when they fell it was many yards from the spot where they had come to maturity. A considerable portion of this aquatic lava (for indeed its appearance had a distant resemblance to the molten streams of an active volcano) had reached the sea at daylight; and when some of our people ventured to the edge of the precipice, they found to their dismay the boat-houses and boats left there had disappeared. Two families, whose houses were adjacent to the ravine, removed their household goods, fearing that the foundations of their dwellings might become undermined and bury them underneath; but in a few hours the stream had ceased to flow, and confidence was in a measure restored. We had now time to turn our attention to other parts of the island. At Bounty Bay a great quantity of earth had been washed away; a yam-ground, containing one thousand yams, had disappeared entirely; several fishing-boats destroyed; the Bounty's guns washed to the edge of the surf; and large pieces of rock so obstructed the harbor that, if a ship should come, it is doubtful whether a passage could be found for her boat to pass through. In the interior all the plantains were destroyed, one-half in full bearing, and the other half designed for the year 1846, so that this very valuable article of food we shall be without for a long time. The fact is, from this date, April 16th,

until August, we shall be perished for want of food. But 'God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb;' and we humbly trust that the late monitions of Providence, viz., drought, sickness, and storm, which severally have been inflicted on us this year, may be sanctified to us all, as bringing us into closer communion with God. Unfortunately the island is subject to such visitations; on one occasion, some years previously, the bread-fruit trees and orange-gardens were ravaged by the gale."

A painful incident is recorded in February, 1847—an accident which occurred to Reuben Nobbs when out shooting goats among the mountains. His foot slipped, and he fell on his loaded musket, which occasioned its discharge, the ball passing through his hip-joint and coming out near the knee. Fortunately, there were persons at hand, who tore up their shirts and staunched the blood, and the sad news being conveyed to the village, all the inhabitants who heard of it hastened to the spot to afford him assistance. They carried him tenderly to his home stretched in a canoe, and the greater part of the men sat up during the night in case they should be required. For many days he remained in a precarious state from the depth of the wound, and his father experienced great difficulty in ascertaining if any wadding had passed through with the ball. In the midst of their anxiety the intelligence arrived that a ship had been descried in the offing. "Thank God!" was the general exclamation; and as she anchored, canoes instantly put off to obtain necessaries for their suffering friend. This ship proved to be the Spy, Captain Woolridge, who landed with the surgeon, and, to the relief of all, he pronounced the state of the patient less dangerous than had been imagined, but said that the youth had a narrow escape from death, and would be lame for life.

In March, 1848, the Calypso, Captain Worth, visited Pitcairn, and the surgeon, Dr. Domet, a man of science and an antiquary, having heard of hieroglyphics existing on the face of some rocks at the east end of the island, determined to visit the spot, to see if they confirmed the reported traces of aboriginal inhabitants; and although the access was both difficult and dangerous, he was not to be deterred from his purpose. One of the islanders accompanied him, and was astonished that he would not be assisted by a rope, but unaided he descended the almost perpendicular face of the rock like his attendant, to a narrow ledge only a few inches wide. A fall from the height of six hundred feet, upon the rocks and the foaming breakers beneath, would have been certain destruction. Dr. Domet made some drawings of the figures, which represented principally the sun and moon, and various birds; there were also some very rude delineations of human beings. On his return to the village, the islanders showed him some ancient stone spear and arrow heads, and adzes, which they had discovered in various parts of the island.

The finding of these stone implements on the lonely rock of Pitcairn Island is a curious addition to our knowledge, as specimens in every way similar to these have been discovered, not only in the countries of Europe, in Great Britain, but also in America, and indeed in almost every part of the known world. In most of these localities they are of great antiquity, but the forms found at Pitcairn resemble those which were in use in Tahiti and New Zealand when first discovered by us in the middle of the last century, and are identical with those used by the Esquimaux tribes at the present day. Whatever varieties may exist in the great human family, one race at least seems to have carried with it, as its members spread over the surface of the globe, this universal custom, the

use of stone implements to supply the wants of daily life. The type is the same, wherever found in the long-buried drift of past ages. It is probable that the aboriginal inhabitants, whose presence in Pitcairn is indicated by these implements, migrated thither from some of the adjacent islands of the Pacific, but found themselves unable to remain on account of the scarcity of food and water for the support of any considerable number of persons. They doubtless drifted off as they came, on some species of raft, to be conveyed to any island to which the winds and currents should waft them.*

How soon intercourse with a superior race, and the introduction of iron among these uncivilized people, will supersede the use of these primitive implements, is mentioned by Captain Cook in his last voyage to the Pacific in 1777. At that date, in speaking of the Tahitians, he says, "A stone hatchet is at present as rare a thing among them as an iron one was eight years ago, and a chisel of bone or stone is not to be seen."

The departure of Captain Worth and his officers was a matter of great regret to the islanders; for these necessarily short visits (dependent on the wind being in a favorable quarter, as no vessel could anchor) were to them a kind of jubilee, which varied the monotony of their daily life, and often formed a topic of conversation for months, and even for years.

The arrival of the Pandora, Captain James Wood, R.N., on the 10th of July, 1849, was the occasion of more than usual rejoicing. She brought with her Mr. Buffett, who had been absent for a year at the Sandwich Islands, where he had gone on some commercial enterprise.

The following narrative by Captain Wood, in the form

* See further information on the subject at the end of this chapter.

of a letter, gives an interesting and full account of the island and the inhabitants at that period:

"H.M.S. Pandora, July, 1849.

"I ran on till very close to the island (which appeared in the moonlight like a high rock, with its summit in the clouds), and then hove to. At day-break I bore up, and at seven A.M. was near enough to see the houses, and perceive there was a heavy swell breaking on the rocks. We fired a gun, which soon drew attention; at first a red ensign and then a white flag was displayed from the flag-staff in front of the school-house.

"The village is on the northern face of the island, and appeared buried in trees, but the cleared field also showed out well.

"At first some doubts were expressed by Mr. Buffett of the possibility of boats getting through the surf, but the white flag, which is a signal that landing is practicable, eased my mind on that score, and soon after eight, two whale-boats were seen coming off. They were quite laden with men—a fine, hardy, athletic set of fellows as ever I saw, but little tinged with their mother's blood; indeed those of the third generation are nearly as white as Europeans. They soon dispersed themselves all over the ship, as eager to see their countrymen as ever, indeed they seemed quite beside themselves. Buffett's meeting with his son, a fine and rather handsome young man, was most affecting, as was indeed his greeting from them all. 'It is never old Buffett come back!' was passed from one to the other, with every appearance of affection for him. Arthur Quintal, the son of the mutineer, a fine, strong-made man, upwards of fifty, with an honest, open countenance, was the senior of the party; but a strapping stout fellow, John Adams, was pilot for the time: this berth

they take in rotation, each family according to their seniority, and that family has the privilege of entertaining the captain when on shore. When asked down to breakfast, in the midst of their laughter and glee, before they touched any thing they joined their hands, and in a devout and unaffected way prayed for a blessing on their food. This is their invariable custom, and, like much we saw there, read a lesson to us all which we shall not easily forget.

"Arrangements having been made for landing Buffett's traps (not very easily accomplished, owing to the high surf and the difficulty of getting a boat's crew together to take them), I at last saw most of them off, and, accompanied by Buffett and some of my officers, pulled in towards the landing-place, which is in a small cove called 'Bounty Bay.' The wind was fresh and the swell high, so that it seemed to me when I got to the spot that I was more likely to go on shore *out* of the boat than in it; but as both the whaleboats had just passed in safely I determined to try it, and in two trips we were all safely deposited on the beach. The way they effect a landing is this—one whose experience can be trusted mounts a rock that commands a view of the sea, and watches for the proper moment, when at a signal from him the boat, which has been lying as close to the breakers as possible, makes a rush, and, by taking one of the less heavy breakers, goes flying in before it, frequently without a stroke of the oars being necessary except to steer her, till they get within the rocks, when all danger is over; but as this turn is very narrow and sharp, it requires skill and experience to get a boat in safely, for a trifling deviation on either side would dash the boat to pieces on the rocks.

"The beach and the heights above were lined with inhabitants (mostly females), with Mr. Nobbs, pastor and teacher, at their head. I can not describe the scene which

took place so as to do it justice. After shaking hands with Mr. Nobbs, a pretty-looking girl came up to me, and almost shaking my hand off, said, 'Thank you, sir, for bringing my father home,' her countenance beaming with joy. All now crowded round me, and as I could not shake all their hands at once, I thought it better to kiss them, and they appeared to like this as well; their warm and simple hearts were strangers to concealment, and they gave themselves up with the most complete and childish joy to seeing a man-of-war off their island. I soon found my cap ornamented with a garland of flowers, and amidst laughter and jokes we began to ascend the cliffs. This is no easy task, even to a strong man, and to me would have been quite impracticable had not Mr. Nobbs called to one of the young ladies to come and help me. Two or three volunteered, but my prop and support was Jemima Young, a stout good-natured girl, who seized my arm and almost carried me up without the aid of my feet, and this without any apparent effort on her part. All my officers were similarly treated, and decorated with garlands, not only round their hats but their necks. In this array, and almost as excited as themselves, we were marched to the top of the hill or cliff, and there met with the remainder of the community, consisting principally of the elder females, and those with young children in their arms.

"Here another scene of introduction was gone through, and amongst others I was introduced to the only remaining female of the original Tahitians. She is very old, and has lost an eye, but still continues to walk about. From this we went to the school-room, the path leading at first through a grove of cocoa-nut trees, and then across some nicely cultivated potato-fields. Here I sat for some time and gave the letters I had brought, as well as explained the object of my visit; but I do not think much attention

was paid to either myself or Mr. Nobbs, who read one of the letters addressed to them—they were all too much excited to be serious.

"The school-room or house is a long room, furnished with cross-benches, fitted with ink-stands, etc.; and at the upper end a square compartment is formed by the benches, with a table and seat for the master, and against the end is the pulpit or reading-desk, for the school-room is the church on Sundays. Their form of worship is the Church of England ritual, and now whilst on the subject I can not but add my testimony to those who have gone before me, as to the excellent moral and religious character of these people. Evil and crime seem unknown amongst them; their very simplicity and open-hearted kindness towards us showed such a consciousness of innocence, or rather ignorance of evil, that familiarities such as pass between brothers and sisters were soon established, and all the freshness and warmth of their hearts had free scope without a thought of prudery to check it.

"The young people are generally good-looking, some of them very pretty; all of them have good eyes and teeth, and the most engaging expression of countenance I ever saw; their figures are good, inclining to embonpoint, but their carriage excellent, and a most charming modesty characterizes all their actions. Their dress is as varied as their methods of obtaining it, but the most useful is a kind of long white jacket or short skirt with a dark-colored wrapper, which is fastened round the waist and hangs down to the ankles. They wear no shoes nor stockings, and from their working so hard in the fields and the mountainous nature of the country, their feet are large and broad, and their legs very stout. Their heads are uncovered, but the hair, which is very long (a dark brown or black), is kept clean, neat, and very glossy by the aid of

cocoa-nut-oil, which they contrive to scent very agreeably with the orange-blossom. It is turned up behind in an ingenious manner, which needs no comb or other aid to keep it in its place. This, they say, is necessary when at work in the fields, or going through the woods; combs also would be sadly in their way when conveying a load of yams, and they pride themselves on the weight they are able to carry from the landing-place to the top of the cliff —a girl of sixteen or seventeen will carry over one hundred-weight. They had once two donkeys to do this work, but they did not answer, and now the only conveyance they possess is a kind of wheelbarrow.

"After I left the school-room, I paid visits with Mr. Nobbs to all the families in their houses. They are all lodged alike; the houses are built of wood, and show progressive improvement in the mechanical part of them which would not disgrace an European tradesman. They consist of one long room, divided by two or more partitions, and are raised upon huge sleepers placed upon large stones, to clear them some two or two and a half feet from the ground. They all lie nearly east and west, with the door fronting the north, and the same front contains windows, forming nearly the whole side of the house, and closed by sliding shutters; their roofs have a moderately high pitch, and are formed of the pandanis leaf, which being bent over a long light stick forms a kind of board. Several of these laid nearly close form an excellent thatch, lasting from five to seven years. The side opposite the windows is occupied by bed-places, which are similar to the sleeping-berths in the old packets. These have again a smaller window, or scuttle, as a sailor would call it, which admits air when they are shut out from the common room or hall by drawing the curtains. Their bed-clothes are, without exception, formed of the tappa cloth both white and tan-

ned. This they manufacture themselves from the bark of the paper-mulberry tree, and till lately has formed the staple article of their clothes. Most of the houses are now ornamented with prints and looking-glasses. One had an American clock, which however would not go, nor did its owner seem to care whether it went or not; 'the sun,' he said, 'was the best time-piece.'

"They rise before the sun, eat when they are hungry, sleep when they are tired, and, in fact, are barred by no rules as to the disposal of their time, except on Sundays, when they attend church twice at stated times, and on that day alone Mr. Nobbs winds up his watch, and sets it, so as to insure punctuality; but he *prefers* the sun as a guide, and for this purpose has a meridian at 10 A.M. and 2 P.M. marked on the floor of his house.

"I went to visit the grave of old John Adams. He is buried close to his house, with a daughter and granddaughter lying by his side. A stone with his name and the date of his death is placed at the head. From thence I visited the Bounty's forge, which is still in being, with the exception of the bellows, which has long since gone to pieces: the anvil had lost its nose. This with a large copper fish-kettle are the only considerable remains of the Bounty that I saw, but I got pieces of her copper, wood, etc., of which they all possessed a portion.

"I dined with the pilot, John Adams, and his family; a boiled fowl, some pig and yams and sweet potatoes, with roasted bread-fruit, and a cake made of yams and plantains beaten up and baked in leaves, formed our repast. Knives and forks were, as well as spoons and tumblers, not wanting at the table, which was covered with a clean cloth, and dishes and plates seemed by no means scarce. This was a great improvement since Captain Beechey's visit, when but three of the latter conveniences were to be

found. The women do not eat with the men when strangers are present, so my kind hostess and cook and her pretty daughter had only the cold remains of our dinner. The mode of cooking is well worth notice, and answers admirably. A hole in the ground forms an oven, the bottom of which is covered with fresh plantain leaves; heated stones are then spread over and covered with leaves; on these are laid the articles which are to be cooked, wrapped in leaves, but potatoes and yams without any covering. Some more hot stones are then placed among the meat, etc., and the whole covered with another large layer of leaves; and when the top has been duly covered with green leaves in bunches, a mass of dirty-looking rubbish is piled upon it so as to keep in all heat. This, they confessed, was a very dirty plan, but it answered the purpose admirably, and from the quantity of clean leaves all over, no dust can get to the food. Twenty minutes to half an hour suffices to cook a fowl or small piece of meat, and it is only necessary in opening the oven to be careful not to let the dust pass the outer covering of green leaves, and all is clean and wholesome as if cooked in our way.

"In the evening we had a general meeting to consider the offers we made them, this being the only time they could all attend; field labor, cooking, and other necessary work keeping them employed during the day. They all expressed themselves pleased and thankful for the interest our Government evinced in their welfare, but it was evident that none of them had as yet made up their minds to the necessary evil of a removal. They wished for time to consider the matter. However, they promised to give some kind of answer next day, but even that they found impossible, so they promised to send an answer by the next vessel which called at the island. I myself think

there is no necessity for any of them leaving the island at present. They allow that there is much land uncultivated, and a more equal distribution of it would make what they have go much farther.

"The plan they go on, and which could not now be disturbed without some injustice, is this: The original settlers, the mutineers, marked out and divided the land into nine equal parts; these parts were again equally subdivided among their children, and again the children of the third generation have also a portion of their subdivisions. This, though apparently fair enough at first, has led to evils they did not anticipate; for instance, one of the original settlers had a family of eleven, his ninth was therefore divided into eleven parts. Again, one of his daughters married and has a family of eleven, so that her children will have but the eleventh of her eleventh portion; whereas, another of the first lot, who has only one son and daughter (the latter of whom survives unmarried), left by the same rule the whole of his ninth to her, so that she now has as much land as twenty-two of the first-named family. This system can not last long, unless the landlords emigrate, which they seem very unwilling to do, though this want of sufficient ground is a bar to many of them marrying.

"The children generally run alone at a twelvemonth, and are not swaddled or tormented as they are in England, in consequence of which they are strong, independent-looking imps; not an ill-formed or deformed child was to be seen, the only cripple being Mr. Nobbs's eldest son, who had become so from a gun-shot wound in his hip. They go into the water when very young, and this habit, of which they are very fond, as well as the scanty allowance of garments, tans their skin, and renders them some shades darker than their original color. The women are

said to be as expert as the men in making their way through the surf; some of them are able to swim entirely round the island.

"I walked up the hill some little way next morning to a pool they call Brown's Water. This supplies them with drinking-water, which is brought to the village by the women and girls. The path was rather steep and slippery from the over-night's rain. The pool is situated in a small natural hollow, and is fed from a spring. It never increases or decreases.

"The trees we saw on the road were the pandanus, banyans, cocoa, bread-fruit (a very large tree), a fern, the mountain plantain, some species of acacia, orange and lime-trees, etc. Besides these, they have the vhe-tree, but it is now very scarce, as are also the two most valuable trees on the island, of which they build their houses, the tafano or flower-wood, and the aruni or mero. The former is a yellow wood, very hard and durable when not exposed to wet—of this most of the joiner's work is done. The latter wood is in principal use; it is very dark, like rosewood, very durable, standing exposure to sun, wind, and rain for many years without showing any symptoms of decay. The first settlers' houses were made entirely of it, and are as sound now as the day they were erected, though without paint or covering of any kind: indeed, Mr. Nobbs's house and the school are the only two that have been painted or whitewashed even in part.

"The soil is very rich and prolific. I was shown a field that for ten years had yielded two crops per annum, without suffering any deterioration, and yet no manure was needed. The soil appears a mixture of mould and volcanic matter; it has a considerable portion of iron in it, as its red color abundantly testifies. The rocks are composed of basalt or green stone, and I should say there was lava

on the island, as they told me of a stone which rings like metal when struck.

"There is but one kind of bird, a sort of sparrow. I tried to get a specimen of it, but there was not time to catch one. Sea-birds come there to breed, but there are so many looking out for them that they seldom show themselves. I took them some sheep, which I hope will thrive. Lizards are plentiful. They are plagued by a caterpillar which destroys their peas and beans, so as to render it almost useless to cultivate them, but a bean was introduced some little time back which has spread wonderfully, and now grows wild all over the place, supplying them with a wholesome, agreeable addition to their food seven months in a year. Flies are very troublesome, and they have also had mosquitoes since their return from Tahiti, of which they much complain. Cockroaches are also plentiful and destructive.

"After having had as many young ladies to see the ship as the boats could conveniently carry, and made them all very sea-sick, received my letters, and supplied my men with a good stock of yams, I took leave of these kind and simple-hearted people with many regrets and good wishes. Among the younger portion, many had contrived to establish flirtations, which, though short enough, brought long faces and wet eyes at parting, and many were the locks of hair, etc., which changed owners, and the promises of writing by the first opportunity. In this I believe them sincere, as I received whole heaps of letters from them, intrusted to the care of the officers of almost every man-of-war that had been at Pitcairn for some time back. They, in fact, look upon us as their fellow-countrymen, and a few hours' acquaintance with them establishes a friendship which, though not likely to be renewed personally in this world, I feel convinced will last with their

lives; for the questions they asked about those who had visited them, and the interest they took in all that concerned them, clearly showed that, however brief their stay, they had not been forgotten.

"As it was dark when I made sail, I gave them at their request a gun, burnt two blue-lights, and sent up a rocket, as a farewell signal; and I must say, in common with all on board, I felt more regret in parting with the Pitcairn Islanders than I had in parting with any one since leaving England."

In the following month, August 11th, the Daphne, Captain Fanshawe, arrived, and brought them, as a present from their friends in Valparaiso, some rabbits, and a fine bull and cow. The younger islanders, who had never seen animals of such large size, were much alarmed at the latter, and no one seemed to appreciate the present. Pitcairn, from its confined limits and mountainous character, was not suited for the maintenance of oxen or any large quadruped, and one of them soon fell over the rocks and was killed. This accident caused no regret among the people, as they would make no use of the milk, preferring that of the cocoa-nut. So much did they value these palms, that they planted a considerable number on the west side of the island, where they continue to flourish luxuriantly.

In September of this year an instance of gallant conduct in one of the islanders occurred, which ought not to be omitted, as it also evinces an unusual amount of disinterestedness. An Australian ship, bound for California with some emigrants on board, touched at the island. Many of the passengers were desirous of landing, and, in their eagerness to do so, crowded the boat so that some persons fell over into the water. They were soon saved, but one little child was unobserved, and fast sinking, when George

Adams, who had gone on board with fruit and vegetables to sell, noticing the accident, and the danger the child was in, plunged overboard, and brought the little creature up safely. The delighted parents could not sufficiently express their gratitude to the young man, and the father, running down to his cabin, returned on deck with a bag of dollars, which he entreated him to accept. Surprised at the offer, as he considered he had only done his duty in saving the life of a fellow-creature, Adams refused it or any other compensation, but was perfectly willing to sell the produce of his garden at a fair price.

This same year, 1849, Reuben Nobbs embarked in a Californian vessel bound for Valparaiso, with the laudable intention of endeavoring to procure mercantile employment, as his lameness incapacitated him for laborious occupation in Pitcairn. He was engaged as a clerk by a Mr. Miller, to whom his good conduct and assiduity gave great satisfaction. Unfortunately, his delicate health was a cause of great anxiety to his family and friends at Pitcairn, particularly to his mother, who was unceasing in her entreaties that he should return home.

January 23d, 1850, was a jubilee day, being the sixtieth anniversary of the arrival of the mutineers at Pitcairn, and was celebrated with great ceremony and rejoicing. Well might the existing generation be proud of the occasion and of the happy state of the community—descendants of men whose illegal acts had compelled them to seek concealment from the outer world. Of that generation all had passed away, oppressors and oppressed, the white men and their colored associates. Violence had ceased, and was succeeded by those Christian feelings resulting from a pious education; and this anniversary was celebrated in as fair a land, and by a people as free from guile as any on the face of the earth.

At day-break the rejoicings began. They consisted, first, in firing the one remaining available gun* belonging to the Bounty, which, five years before, had been brought up with great labor from the watery bed in which it had lain for fifty-five years. Although honey-combed and rusty from the action of the water, it was, nevertheless, mounted, to be fired on all grand occasions. All work was suspended for that day; there were prayers; the union-jack was hoisted; the whole community were in great excitement; and a public dinner was prepared, to which all the grown men sat down; but not the women—for they still retained the Tahitian custom of eating separately. At the conclusion of the banquet, three cheers were given for the queen, three for the British Government, three for the ladies and absent friends, and a vote was passed that the ceremony should be observed annually. The joyful day ended, as it had begun, with prayer and thanksgiving, the firing of muskets, and of the Bounty's gun.

In the following March, a circumstance occurred which proved of much benefit to the Pitcairn people—although very annoying to a party of gentlemen, consisting of Baron Thierry, Mr. Carleton, Mr. Brodie, and two others, who had landed from the bark Noble, with the intention of passing a few hours in exploring the island. Their vessel sailed during their absence, and they were left behind. She had arrived, short of water, on Sunday, a day on which nothing will induce the islanders to barter, and

* "Guiltless of blood (during the time so many thousands of mankind in Europe had become 'food for powder'), one only of these guns had resumed its original use, at least the innoxious portion of it, belching forth fire and smoke, and making the island reverberate with its bellowing; the other is condemned to silence, having been spiked by some of the Bounty's crew."—*Remark of Arthur Quintal, Chief Magistrate, inserted in the "Island Register," of the date 23d of January,* 1850.

hardly to convey provisions to any ships. But as the people on board were suffering, they agreed to supply them with sufficient for their present urgent need, and promised an ample supply of water, yams, potatoes, and other vegetables on the morrow.

To the consternation of the visitors, who in any case only expected to pass the night on shore, the wind had changed before morning, which compelled the captain to get clear of the island, and the ship was seen fifteen miles off, as they supposed, beating up; they therefore employed the day in exploring the island, visiting The Rope, etc., the vessel being still in sight. For two days she appeared to stand off and on, but the weather being very unsettled, the captain probably thought it dangerous to approach the rocks, or even to remain in the vicinity, and accordingly pursued his voyage.

The kind-hearted islanders would willingly have taken out their boats to try and overtake her; but the wind was rising, and the surf so strong that it would have been impossible to pass through it. The hospitality with which the strangers were treated in some measure compensated for their unexpected detention, and they soon employed themselves in various ways to pass the time agreeably. Mr. Carleton, who sang well, and was a good musician, undertook to train a choir, with a view of improving their singing in church. In the course of a fortnight, so successful was his instruction, and so apt were his pupils, that not only was the part-singing in the service well performed, but quartettes, glees, and catches, which they were constantly practising, would often float upon the evening breeze. The fine voices and pleasing singing of the islanders have been constantly mentioned, with many encomiums by succeeding visitors.

Mr. Brodie, who employed his time in making observa-

tions on the productions and antiquities of the island, gives some interesting information concerning it,* and says, "There is no doubt but that this island was formerly inhabited, although the native race must have been extinct many years prior to the arrival of the Bounty. Burial-places are still to be seen, and large flat hewn stones remain in different parts of the island, which must have been for pavements in front of their houses, such as are still in use among other tribes in the South Seas. These stones, when observed by the men in the Bounty, had some very large trees growing up among them, by which, in many places, they were displaced. Stone images were likewise found, supposed to have been objects of worship; they were made of a hardish coarse stone. Stone spear-heads and small axes are very common in the island, and round stone balls of about two pounds in weight are not unfrequently found when working up new ground.

"The aborigines most probably drifted here upon a raft, it having been the custom many years ago, especially at the Gambier Islands, which are to the west-north-west about three hundred miles from Pitcairn Island, and of many of the Low Islands, to put those vanquished in war on a raft, when the wind was off the island, and send them adrift to whatever place they could reach. Two actual instances of this practice were mentioned to me by Mr. Nobbs himself; one came under his cognizance when he was at the Gambier Islands."†

* Brodie's "Pitcairn Island and the Islanders."

† For an account of Mr. Nobbs's stay at the Gambier Islands, see Appendix B.

CHAPTER V.

Arrival of Rear-admiral Fairfax Moresby.—H.M.S. Portland at Pitcairn Island.—Mr. Nobbs proceeds to England.—His Ordination as Chaplain.—Return to Pitcairn.—Death of Reuben Nobbs.

Although, as we have seen, several ships of war had by this time (1851) touched at the island, no British admiral had as yet paid it a visit. Rear-admiral Fairfax Moresby, now on the Pacific Station, had evinced unusual interest in the Pitcairn people, and, thus encouraged, the women of the island made a formal request that he would "give them the honor of welcoming to their little island" so important a representative of her Majesty. Fourteen of the female inhabitants on their own behalf, and that of the other women on the island, signed the following letter to the admiral:

"[Copy.]

"Pitcairn, July 28th, 1851.

"Honorable Sir,—From the kind interest you have evinced for our little community, in the letter which you have sent to our excellent and worthy pastor Mr. Nobbs, we are emboldened to send you the following request, which is, that you will visit us before you leave this station, or if it is impossible for you to do so, certainly we, as loyal subjects of our queen, ought to be visited annually, if not oftener, by one of her Majesty's ships of war. We have never had the pleasure of welcoming an English admiral to our little island, and we therefore earnestly solicit a visit from you. How inexpressibly happy shall we be if you should think fit to grant this our warmest wish! We trust that our very secluded and isolated position, and the very few visits we have of late had from British ships

of war, will be sufficient apology for our addressing the above request to you. With fervent prayers for your present and future happiness, and for that of our queen and nation, we remain, honored sir, your sincere and affectionate well-wishers,

"Caroline Adams,	Hannah Young,
Dorcas Young,	Nancy Quintal,
Sarah M'Koy,	Susan Quintal,
Sarah Adams,	Louisa Quintal,
Phœbe Adams,	Ruth Quintal,
Jemima Young,	Rachel Evans,
Rebecca Christian,	Sarah Nobbs."

This invitation, so frankly given, was cordially accepted by their constant and kind friend the admiral, and this visit had an important influence on the prospects and well-being of the islanders and their pastor. The following graphic account of so unusual an occurrence as the arrival of a British admiral is written by Mr. Nobbs, the admirable chronicler of all remarkable events in the annals of the island:

"On the 7th of August, 1852 (at noon), a vessel was reported, which at sunset was strongly suspected of being a ship of war. The hours of the night passed tediously away, and before sunrise next morning several of our people were seated on the precipice in front of the town, anxiously awaiting the report of a gun from the ship, which would give positive confirmation to the over-night suspicion of her being a ship of war. Nor were they kept long in suspense: the booming of a cannon electrified the town, and the whole community were thrown into a state of intense excitement, more especially as it was quickly observed that this ship wore an admiral's flag. Our boat repaired on board, and, after a short time, another from the ship was seen approaching the shore. The teacher and some others went to the landing-place, and had the honor and pleasure

of welcoming to Pitcairn Rear-admiral Moresby, commander in-chief, the first officer of that rank that ever visited Pitcairn. The admiral received our greetings of welcome in a most urbane manner, and both himself and his secretary, Mr. Fortescue Moresby, the admiral's son, were pleased to express themselves much gratified with all they saw and heard. The admiral attended Divine service, and was evidently surprised at the improvement the people had made in singing by note, especially as their friend Carleton had so very limited a time for instructing them.

"In the afternoon the Rev. Mr. Holman read prayers, and preached a sermon most appropriate to the occasion from 1 Cor. chap. xv., last verse."

We shall now insert a letter written home by Mr. Fortescue Moresby, describing the islanders at the time of the visit, and the impression their simplicity and unaffected manners made on the minds of all on board:

"August, 1854.

"Mr. George Hunn Nobbs, the pastor, met us at the landing-place, and we at once ascended the cliffs by a steep winding path to a plantation of cocoa-nut trees, called the Market-place, where the trade is carried on. Several of the islanders met us, and gave us a hearty welcome. Generally all the inhabitants assemble here to welcome the officers of a man-of-war, but as it was Sunday, and early, they had not arrived, so we continued our way by a pretty path winding through the trees to the town, meeting here and there small detachments coming to greet us. These all followed in our wake, and by the time we reached Mr. Nobbs's cottage, which is situated at the opposite end of the town, we had pretty well all the people with us. Never were seen so many happy smiling faces, all eager to look at the first admiral that ever came to their happy island, but not one tried to push his way or make any at-

tempt to get before another: if we said a kind word to any of them they looked happy and pleased, and we did not neglect to do so.

"I showed them a picture of the admiral, which pleased them very much indeed, and was quite a little treasure in their eyes, so I gave it to Mr. Nobbs to keep, and let them see it when they wanted. Jemima Young, a fine girl, very stout, not pretty, but with an amiable face, made me her property, because before coming here I had written her a note, and I was forthwith introduced to all of the girls. There is not one in whose face good-humor, virtue, amiability, and kindness does not beam, and consequently not one whose face is not pleasing. It was now church-time, so away we all went to church. Mr. Nobbs officiated, and read the prayers earnestly and impressively: the most solemn attention was paid by all. They sang two hymns in magnificent style, and really I have never heard any church-singing in any part of the world that could equal it, except at cathedrals, and the whole of the credit is due to Mr. Carleton, who was left behind by accident from a whaler. Mr. Nobbs gave us a good sermon from St. John i., 40–42.

"After the sermon we all adjourned to the market-place, to see the other boats land with the first lot of officers. The sea was now pretty high, and on one trip the boat was turned over. As soon as they joined us, we all returned to the town, and passed our time quietly conversing until afternoon service. Mr. Holman, our chaplain, officiated, and preached us an excellent sermon from 1 Cor. xv., 58. He pointed out that the good conduct of the islanders had made them respected, earnestly exhorted them to continue to fight the good fight, warned them of the trials and temptations of the world compared with the comforts of their little island, expressed his gratification

at the opportunity afforded him, and then said farewell. That evening I took a walk up the mountains, with Jemima Young and Susan Quintal. We conversed on the sermons and other subjects, and I was quite astonished at their intelligence, and the answers they gave, making use of many expressions that I should have thought them quite ignorant of, particularly Susan; she is very clever, and can repeat a great deal of Milton.

"Every family has a regular turn to entertain the captain of any ship that arrives. It is thought a great privilege, and all are anxious to do so, but a dispute on the subject is never known. If the ship should be a man-of-war, then the fortunate individual considers himself the luckiest of the lucky, and prepares for a grand feast. The officers are all billeted off to different families, because it makes the cooking and attendance easier, and they say the officers talk more, consequently they obtain more information. The most implicit confidence is placed in English officers; no restraint is thought necessary, and the girls walk about with them by day or night, alone or together. I was generally accompanied by one or two with their arms round me; almost as often by three or four. Captain Chads, and one or two more who remained on shore as long as I did, were similarly attended. All the time the stream of fun and laughter was uninterrupted, but their demeanor is so virtuous, modest, and natural, while they show so much affection, that I could not help feeling quite a love towards them all; and I feel convinced that the most hard-hearted villain and the greatest reprobate must loathe himself and detest his own sins in contemplating the high moral standard to which these simple islanders have attained. The delight and pleasure our company seemed to give them could hardly be believed. They could not restrain such expressions as the following, all

the time clinging round us and looking up into our faces: 'Ah, I do love the English so!' 'How good, how kind you are to come and see us.' 'Oh, I do love you so!' and it was evident to see the pleasure that was in their good hearts by their faces. This familiarity only exists with English officers, who have by their right and steady conduct tried to deserve so high a mark of esteem. Successful they have been, for but one person rises above us in their estimation, and that is Her Majesty, who is more loved here than in any other part of her wide dominions.

"*Monday.*—At day-break we, accompanied by a troop of young girls, walked to the highest ridge on the island, and obtained a splendid view of the settlement and whole island. We also got a good idea of the risk the men run while hunting the goats. It is wonderful how they can cling on, for to our weak heads it appeared a feat to stand on the edge and look down. I said to one, 'You can not go down there;' he immediately clung to the side, and in a moment was six or eight feet down—proof that he could accomplish the remaining three hundred feet. We had great fun coming back, running with the girls down the steep hills, etc.; but we were quite amused to see with what care those appointed to take care of the admiral performed their task, helping him up any difficult places, and they were not weak young ladies. At last we got down, and had a splendid breakfast of yams, done in two or three different ways, bananas, oranges, cocoa-nuts, fowls, and pork.

"After breakfast, all the girls that could be spared we took on board to see the ship, and notwithstanding they were all sick before they got on board, and continued so, they still maintained their cheerfulness, and in the intervals ran about and looked at every thing. We made them dance a country dance; but the band was their

great treat, for it was the first ever seen, and occupied a great share of their attention. They also sang us several of their beautiful songs, and 'God save the Queen,' and they sing it better than I can pretend to describe. We got on shore about 4 P.M. and supped. I had supper with Jemima Young, and we then went to the singing-school. They entertained us pleasantly until 10 P.M. We then proposed blind-man's-buff, and it was fun, I can tell you, to hear their laughing and screams. This lasted until midnight, when we retired.

"*Tuesday.*—Up at day-break, and until breakfast walked about the village. All those that could not go on board yesterday went to-day, and the band came on shore to amuse the others. The intense excitement it caused, and the curiosity with which they followed it was very amusing. After the band had played some time, the girls sang us some of their beautiful glees, catches, songs, etc., then the band played again. This lasted until four o'clock, when it was time to go on board, much to the regret of the whole community.

"I went down to the sea-side to meet the girls that were coming on shore, as I knew they must have been very sick indeed, and one poor thing half dead I took home. She was so weak that twice she had to rest coming up the hill, and she lay down and put her head in my lap. It was quite dark, and the poor thing was so grateful; but I could not stay to supper, which was a great disappointment to her, because I was engaged to sup with Rebecca Christian. Rebecca had asked the admiral, Captain Chads, and Mr. Nobbs. As soon as we were all seated, and grace was said, she watched for our taking the first mouthful, and then laughing with delight, she said, 'Oh, you are *too* welcome to this supper!' After supper, we all repaired to the singing-school, and were

for the last time enchanted with their beautiful singing. It is really wonderful after only six or seven weeks' tuition.

"About ten we repaired to John Adams's house, and had a splendid game of blind-man's-buff. The way the active creatures elude you, running and dodging in every direction, and if one of them gets blinded the way they all rush about, was most amusing. It was 1 o'clock before we got to bed, and I was to sleep at Jemima Young's house. I was awakened in the morning by Jemima, Martha Young, and Dinah Quintal standing round me, as I had so completely got hid in the feather-bed they gave me to sleep in that I was almost lost. We took a walk to a cave up the mountains, and came down to breakfast. This was our last day, and it was rather *triste*. When 2 P.M. came, and we all had assembled at the landing-place (the whole village) the scene was too affecting. Never in my life have I ever seen any thing to equal it. The whole of the kind affectionate people crying, the girls clinging round us, begging us to come back again soon. I tried for a few moments to bear up, but it was a sad failure. I broke down, and am not much ashamed to say (as I kissed them all round) I cried as much as they did. One big stout fellow came and said, 'God bless you, sir!' and gave me a kiss. I thought his heart would break. I could not have believed that a few days would have made me feel such an affection for any single person, much more for a great number, as I did for them; but so it is: their honest, pure, virtuous character produces an impression that can never be effaced. Nearly all the men came on board with us, and we stood close to the island, hoisted the royal standard, and fired a royal salute. We then gave three hearty cheers, and the band played 'God save the Queen,' 'Rule Britannia,' etc.

"It must to the islanders have been a beautiful sight, for we were so close in that we could see them all collected under the trees still crying, and we heard their feeble cheers in answer to ours. The parting with the men was worse almost than with the girls; to see big stout fellows crying, and hardly able to look up, was too much. All the officers were deeply affected, and I saw some of the men nearest me, old hardy seamen and big marines, not only wipe away a tear but regularly crying.

"Away! away! we are off for the world again, truly sorry to leave the island. Their happiness in this life consists solely in virtue, and their virtue is their truest pleasure. They think (and how really true is it) that the more religious and virtuous you become the happier you are, deeming every sin to take from your enjoyment in this and the after life. Therefore, if we were to take away the credit due to them for living so good a life from principle, they would still continue, as they know that true pleasure is only to be obtained by obeying the will of God. Their temperance and industry give them health, food, and cheerfulness; gain for them universal esteem, respect, and sympathy; and as in this life they do not seek their pleasures in things below, but in a higher power, and the image of the Saviour is found in their hearts in this world, so we may earnestly hope that they will belong peculiarly to Him in the next. No profligate has ever been known to practise his vicious courses in this island; for their virtue, like a garment in cold weather, completely disarms him and protects them. God protect and bless them!* Both sexes like to dress like Eng-

* "Recent visitors declare that drunkenness, the use of bad language, and similar vices, are absolutely unknown among the Pitcairn people. The excellence of their lives, and the harmony in which they dwell together, has surprised every one that has touched at the island, and we

MARIA CHRISTIAN, ELLEN QUINTAL, AND SARAH M'KOY.

lish people, if they can, on Sundays; and the women complain that they can not get shoes, but all the men can get them from the whalers. During the week their dress consists chiefly of a dark-blue petticoat and a white kind of long jacket for the women, a loose shirt and loose trowsers for the men.

"The houses are nice little storied structures, not so neatly kept as one might be led to expect, nevertheless they are far from being dirty. Their food consists chiefly of yams, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, plantains, bananas, taro, oranges, etc., a few fish, and in the yam season each family kills a large pig, that during the hard work of digging yams they may have a little animal food. Sometimes they get goats' flesh, and are trying to rear a few cattle. They have three, and the admiral gave them three more. Both sexes work very hard indeed. They usually rise at dawn, and have family prayers, do the work that is necessary, and about dusk have supper, then go to the singing-school, or Mr. Nobbs's, or meet to have a chat. About nine or ten they go to bed, previously having family worship. Should one of the little ones go to bed or to sleep before its mother comes home, she immediately wakes it to say its prayers. Not a soul on the island would dream of commencing a meal or finishing without asking a blessing or returning thanks.

"Boys and girls swim almost as soon as they can walk;

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have met rough sea-captains and hard-headed merchants from California —the most unlikely people, in fact—who declared the Utopian condition of the island to have been such that they quite fell in love with virtue while they staid there, and felt strongly tempted to throw money to the dogs, and to remain and become good, among the descendants of the Bounty mutineers. How so entirely novel a community as one composed of Christians and destitute of rogues will get on upon a larger scale, we have as yet no means of knowing."—*Extract from the* "ARGUS" (a Sydney newspaper).

consequently they will swim through the largest surf, and play about among the broken water on the rocks, that we look on with terror, and to swim entirely round the island is not an uncommon feat. One of their greatest amusements is to have a slide, as they term it; that is, to take a piece of wood about three feet long, shaped like a canoe with a small keel (called a surf-board). They then (holding this before them) dive under the first heavy sea, and come up on the other side. They then swim out a little way, and wait until a rapid heavy sea is rolling in, the higher the better. They rest their breast on the canoe or surf-board, and are carried along on the very apex of the surf at a prodigious rate right upon the rocks, where you think nothing can save them from being dashed to pieces, the surf seems so powerful; but in a moment they are on their legs, and prepare for another slide. Such as would be death to Englishmen is fun to their women and children. Their method of fishing is equally dangerous. The women walk along the rocks until they see a squid, then watching the retreating sea, they run in and try to pick it up before the advancing surf can wash them off; but frequently they are washed off, and then they have to exert all their skill to land, for they have no surf-board to help them.

"Christmas-day is a grand feast-day, and they keep it up in good style; but the queen's birthday is their grand day. It is observed with feasting, dancing (the only day on which they are allowed to dance on the island), and all sorts of merriment goes on. Among the very first questions every one asks is, 'How is Her Majesty the queen?' Their number is about one hundred and seventy, and they increase very fast. It is, therefore, quite time that some provision were made for their future maintenance. The island would support about eight hundred souls on vege-

table diet; but their hogs must necessarily all be killed, because they would eat too much; neither could they afford to give the whalers any refreshments, who would consequently soon abandon the island, and leave the islanders no employment beyond providing for their own wants, which could be easily done in this climate. They would be wholly dependent on charity for clothes and other necessaries, unless our Government undertook to supply them, or, as a last resource, they would have to go back again to their tappa cloth. If matters came to such a pass, they would soon make a retrograde movement in civilization, for we know that civilization must either go forward or backward—it can hardly stand still.

"They have had one fearful land-slip, besides several small ones, which is another serious consideration. Water also would not be too plentiful for eight hundred people. Something must be done."

The following poem, which the Pitcairners have adapted to the air of "Rousseau's Dream," they consider their national anthem:

NATIONAL ANTHEM.

(Words composed by Rev. G. H. Nobbs.)

"'Mid the mighty Southern Ocean
Stands an isolated rock,
Blanchèd by the surf's commotion,
Riven by the lightning's shock.
Hark those strains to heaven ascending,
From those slopes of vivid green,
Old and young their voices blending—
God preserve Britannia's Queen!

"Who are these whose aspirations
With such ardor greet the ear?
Sons, whose sires wrought consternation,
Daughters of the Mutineer.
Yet those sires were ne'er disloyal,
Though they curbed a tyrant's sway;
Their children with affection loyal
Hail Victoria's natal day!

"Ha! that flash yon grove illuming,
Long impervious to the sun,
How the quick report comes booming
From the ocean's rescued gun!
Now the bell is gayly ringing
Where yon white-robed train are seen,
Now they all unite in singing—
God preserve our gracious Queen!"

The admiral, in the course of several conversations, had learned from the inhabitants that they had a great desire for the ordination of their pastor, in order that he might be qualified to administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and proposed with great kindness to send Mr. Nobbs to England for that purpose, leaving the Rev. Mr. Holman to officiate during his absence. The islanders did not at first accede to this generous offer, being unwilling to part with their pastor even for a short time; but after some deliberation they took a more sensible view of the case, and acquiesced in the proposal. It was also arranged that Mr. Nobbs's daughter should accompany them as far as Valparaiso, where she might receive instruction for the benefit of the female part of the community. Before leaving Pitcairn the admiral felt desirous of hearing some particulars relative to the previous history of Mr. Nobbs. One bright evening when sitting beneath the cocoa-nut trees, near the picturesque Pitcairn village, he alluded to the responsibility he had undertaken in conveying Mr. Nobbs to England to obtain ordination, and continued, "It is due to yourself, and to the friends who will welcome you there with much cordiality, that you should give me some information as to your previous history, and the reasons which induced you to reside at Pitcairn. I hope you will accede to this request, either verbally or in writing, before we separate." Next morning he received the following letter:

"August, 1852.

"My Honorable Friend,—In compliance with your kind suggestion, I have written down a few items respecting myself, and my position on Pitcairn Island. I am, unfortunately, the unacknowledged son of the Marquis of ——, and my mother was the daughter of an Irish baronet, who, becoming implicated in the Irish Rebellion, left his country, it was supposed for France, and in all probability the boat in which he embarked foundered, as neither himself nor the three or four who ventured with him were ever heard of again.* My beloved mother died in the year 1822, and on her death-bed exacted from me a solemn promise that I would never accept of any favor at the hands of my father's family, nor appropriate to my use a sum of money invested in the public funds, placed there, it seems, for my support as early as 1803 or 1804. I cheerfully complied with her request at the time she made it, and I am determined to observe the same line of conduct to the end of my life. Moreover, my mother was anxious that I should quit England, and take up my abode in some distant part of the world, where her wrongs and mine might be buried in oblivion. I mentioned Pitcairn Island to her, and as much of its history as had come to my knowledge. She was delighted with the idea of my going there, and almost her last words were, 'Go to Pitcairn Island, my son, dwell there, and may the blessing of God

* "His mother, and grandmother, Lady ——, were much reduced in circumstances. Through their friend, Admiral Murray, commanding at North Yarmouth, the young boy (then under the care of a family called Nobbs, whose name his mother made him assume) was placed on board the Snipe to wait the arrival of the Hero, commanded by an acquaintance of his mother, Captain Newman. The Hero was wrecked in the mean time. Admiral Murray having informed his mother that inquiries had been made respecting her son, and that he would be removed, she immediately withdrew him from the service. Every action of her life bore with it the feeling that her son should never be benefited by the person who had blighted her name. Her son returned to school, and subsequently went to India in the merchant service in 1819."—*Letter from Admiral Moresby, addressed to His Grace the Duke of Northumberland.*

rest upon you!' Suffice it to say I left England for this place at the commencement of 1826, and after nearly two years of difficulties, dangers, and a considerable expenditure of money, I arrived on the 28th of October, 1828. I was cordially received by John Adams and the natives generally, and from that time to the present, with the exception of a short interval, over which I had no control, have been successfully engaged in the moral and religious instruction of the community.

"As to remuneration received by me for my services, it simply amounts to this: For my clerical duties my house is kept in repair; as surgeon, I have received something like three acres of land; and for schooling, one shilling per month for twenty-five out of fifty scholars is the utmost of what I receive. To the rest I give instruction gratis, as those who have large families can not afford to pay for the whole of their children. Yet this trifling amount I do not receive in cash, but in potatoes or yams, which are sold to ships at a considerable discount. If I could obtain a salary from some benevolent source I should be thankful, for I am often driven to great straits.

"And now, honorable and much-respected friend, permit me to assure you that I gratefully appreciate your benevolent designs in favor of myself and family, and subscribe myself your much-obliged and humble servant,

"G. H. Nobbs.

"Rear-admiral Fairfax Moresby."

On the 11th of August, 1852, Mr. Nobbs and his daughter Jane embarked, with Admiral Fairfax Moresby, on board H.M.S. Portland, amid the tears and blessings of the islanders, to proceed to Valparaiso. The voyagers reached Valparaiso on the 30th of August, and Mr. Nobbs, having travelled across the Isthmus of Panama, embarked in the steamer Arinoes, and landed at Portsmouth October 16th, 1852. To his generous friend Admiral Moresby he owed the means of obtaining a passage to England, and

also of meeting his expenses while residing in this country.

After being duly qualified Mr. Nobbs was ordained a deacon, on October 24th, 1852, by Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London. In a letter from his lordship, dated December 1st, is found the following testimony: "We have all been very much pleased with Mr. Nobbs's good sense and right feeling and genuine simplicity. I earnestly pray that it may please God to continue to him the blessing which has hitherto been vouchsafed to his disinterested and self-denying labors."

On the 20th of November, St. Andrew's Day, the Rev. G. H. Nobbs was ordained priest in Fulham Church, by the Bishop of London, and was described in the Letters of Orders as "Chaplain of Pitcairn Island."

This letter was the first addressed to Admiral Moresby after Mr. Nobbs arrived in England, and gives an account of his prospects, and of the kindness he met with:

"51 Gloucester Place, Queen's Square, London,
"November 12th, 1852.

"HONORABLE SIR AND FRIEND,—I did not write by the first mail after my arrival in England, because nothing conclusive had been agreed on respecting the island in general, and myself in particular, although the bishop gave me ordination as deacon a few days after my arrival. I have been most cordially received by Mr. Stafford, Sir Robert Inglis, Lord Harrowby, Admiral Beaufort, and a vast number of gentlemen of rank and influence. Of the reception I received from your dear good lady, and Sir T. Acland, I shall forbear saying any thing till I have the pleasure of relating it personally.

"The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel have granted me £50 per annum, and through and by the means of the letters which you have sent, and the untiring activity of Sir T. Acland, I have no doubt that every thing

which can be of benefit to the community whose welfare you are so generously anxious to promote will be accorded them. The Bishop of London will ordain me priest in the commencement of December, and I shall leave England on the 17th, and I hope to behold the face of my best earthly friend by the middle of February. I am happy to hear Jane is doing well; please give my love to her and Reuben, to Fortescue, and good Captain Prevost. I have no doubt, my honored friend, you will think this a very trifling letter, but I want to narrate my adventures personally, which I hope to do on our passage to Pitcairn, if it pleases God. I am fearful the Government will not provide me a passage by the way of Panama, but Sir Thomas thinks funds can be raised for that purpose.

"*November 13th.*—I have just returned from breakfasting with the Duke of Northumberland and his good little duchess, who gave me a ticket for a seat at Northumberland House, to witness the procession at the obsequies of the Duke of Wellington. His Grace requested me to inform Sir T. Acland that he would co-operate with him most cordially in any private measures that might be set on foot for the benefit of Pitcairn Island, and that Sir Thomas might call or write whenever he chose. I have not yet seen Sir John Packington, but expect to do so next week. I trust, honored sir, you will excuse my concluding so abruptly, but my cough keeps me in a continual shake. I could not possibly exist much longer in England.

"With a grateful sense of the many kindnesses received at your hands, permit me, honored sir, to subscribe myself your most obliged and humble servant,

"George H. Nobbs.

"Admiral Fairfax Moresby, C. B."

On the 28th of November Mr. Nobbs preached at St. Dunstan's in the East, as Chaplain of Pitcairn Island. "The hearers were deeply interested," writes the Rev. T. B. Murray, late Rector of St. Dunstan's. "Both the Bish-

op of London and Sir T. Acland have given him invitations to stay with them, which he will accept with pleasure; but with his zeal for his fellow-islanders, and his plain and simple ways of life, I think he will rejoice, as soon as his errand is accomplished, to rejoin his friends at a distance. He is desirous of returning as soon as he possibly can."

Before leaving England Mr. Nobbs was presented to Her Majesty, who received him most graciously, and gave him portraits of herself and the royal family.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel placed Mr. Nobbs on their missionary list, at a salary of £50 per annum, and on the 17th of December, 1852, the worthy chaplain embarked at Southampton on his homeward voyage, and recrossed the Isthmus of Panama, from whence to Valparaiso the Royal Mail Steam Navigation Company gave him a free passage; but on his arrival he found he had missed, by a few days, a vessel going to Pitcairn. At Valparaiso, therefore, he waited until the Portland should arrive.

"On the 15th of April, 1853," wrote Mr. Fortescue Moresby, the son and secretary of the admiral, "we sailed from Valparaiso, having Mr. Nobbs and his children Reuben and Jane on board, to return them to their island home. On Saturday, May 14th, we sighted Pitcairn about fifty miles distant; on Sunday, at sunrise, it was looming large from the deck. Just before we went to morning service we fired three guns, to let them know we had three passengers on board. After church we were close enough to see people on the island, and we observed them all come out of church and launch their whale-boat. Of course this was a most anxious time for Mr. Nobbs. In about half an hour they came alongside, followed by a canoe, in which were old John Adams's son and grandson.

They manifested the same honest genuine feeling of delight at Mr. Nobbs's return as they did of sorrow at his departure; of course they were delighted to see *us* also once more. We observed that all the men looked ill and poor, which they told us was the effect of the long drought having disappointed them in their crops. This had caused not quite a famine, but so near it that for months they were reduced to pumpkins, berries, cocoanuts, and beans, for their existence. We staid from Monday until Thursday, passing our time much as before, sketching, talking, singing, walking. Truly, a more innocent or delightful race does not exist. The admiral was much pleased with the progress made by Jane Nobbs. She has learnt to sew neatly, besides other domestic accomplishments, without losing her pretense to simplicity and modesty. I trust she will prove a useful member of the community."

(In the Appendix will be found a most interesting letter from Mr. Nobbs, written on board H.M.S. Portland, when on her voyage from Valparaiso to Pitcairn, and addressed to Admiral Moresby. It relates to the sixteen years of his adventurous life previous to settling at Pitcairn, and therefore would be out of place in the narrative.)

The extract from a letter written by the Rev. W. H. Holman to Admiral Moresby is inserted here, as it contains his opinion of the excellent character of the islanders. He was the chaplain on board the Portland, and was left at Pitcairn during the absence of Mr. Nobbs.

"From my experience of the last month, the Pitcairn Islanders are fully deserving of the high moral and religious character which they bear. I have seen no instance whatever of disagreement or ill-temper, but, on the contrary, every thing is done in peace and good-will. They vie with one another in their attempts to make me com-

fortable, and have so loaded me with presents, which I dare not refuse without wounding their feelings, that I have a large stake in the property of the island. I must not omit to inform you that the day after your departure a meeting was held to consider in what way I was to be provided for, when it was decided that each family should in their turn provide my food. I am glad in having nothing unsatisfactory to communicate.

"Pitcairn, December 21st, 1852."

The following letter from Mr. Nobbs to the Rev. T. B. Murray, late rector of St. Dunstan's, and Secretary to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, was written after his return:

"Pitcairn Island, July 21st, 1853.

"DEAR MR. MURRAY,—It has pleased our heavenly Father to permit me to return in safety to my island-home, and to a happy meeting with my family. We landed on the Sabbath, and after the evening service, when Mr. Holman preached his farewell sermon, I read from the pulpit my ordination letters and license as chaplain of Pitcairn Island, granted me by my honored patron, the Lord Bishop of London. The Portland remained off the island four days, and then left us for the Gambier Islands. The next day after her departure, the influenza made its appearance. Unfortunately the wind was from the north-west, and the atmosphere was very dense and heated, which acted as fuel to the contagion; and so rapid was its progress, that in one week there were not ten persons capable of attending to their own wants. It was the most severe attack since 1840, the date of its first appearance among us.

"After an absence of nine days, the Portland returned. On their making known to the admiral our sad condition, he humanely lay by all night (it being very late when our boat got on board), and in the morning sent Captain Chads and his secretary, with one of the ship's surgeons, to our assistance; and as my small stock of tea and sugar was almost exhausted by distributing to those that had

none, the admiral sent on shore a good supply, and the officers also contributed biscuits and other necessaries. I attribute the severity with which the disease was felt to the debilitated state of the community, owing to the scarcity of food which prevailed for some months prior to my arrival. The want of rain had prevented their planting their usual crop of sweet potatoes, and consequently reduced them to great straits. It was for some weeks almost actual starvation, their only resource being half-grown pumpkins. My dear wife, while relating to me the history of their privations, said the circumstance which used to affect her most was, that the younger children would wake up about midnight, and cry for hours from sheer hunger, so unsubstantial was the fare they had partaken of previous to their going to bed. And I well know, when my children cried from hunger, their good mother's sufferings, mentally and bodily, must have been very great.

"I have administered the Holy Sacrament once since my return, and intend (D.V.) to do so monthly. We have about seventy-five communicants. The number of inhabitants amounts to one hundred and seventy-two—eighty-five males, eighty-seven females. A dreadful accident occurred during my absence. Her Majesty's ship Virago, Captain Prevost, was just on the point of quitting the island: most of the community were on board taking leave, and the few who remained on shore had assembled round the Bounty's gun, with the intention of firing a farewell salute. As Matthew M'Koy was employed ramming home the cartridge, the gun accidentally exploded, and the poor man was dreadfully injured, surviving but a few hours, although he had the attendance of two surgeons from the Virago. He left a family of nine children to mourn his loss. Two other persons were badly wounded, and it was doubtful for some time if they would survive; one of them still suffers from his wound."

The funeral of poor M'Koy, related in the following extract, was attended by Captain Prevost, with the officers

and petty officers of the ship, and the scene was most impressive:*

"It was a beautiful sunset, the tall plume-like cocoanut trees waved gently above our heads. Borne upward from the sea, mournfully but not discordantly, came the sound of the breakers, as they burst against the shore, while from orange, and from lime, and from a thousand fragrant herbs, delicious scents filled the air. All the islanders were present in their white tappa-cloth dresses, the officers also in white attire. The poor widow hung upon the arm of Captain Prevost, and, surrounded by her nine children, led the mournful procession to the grave, which was dug in a small garden, where were interred the remains of the father, mother, and brother of M'Koy. Amidst the tears and sobs of the community, the Rev. W. H. Holman, Chaplain of the Portland (who had remained at Pitcairn during the absence of Mr. Nobbs), read the burial service most impressively, and at the conclusion the islanders sang one of their beautiful hymns. The impression made by this touching and unusual scene could not be easily effaced from the minds of the captain and officers of the Virago, whose stay at the island had been prolonged by this sad occurrence."

H.M.'s ship Dido having touched at Pitcairn in December, 1853, Reuben Nobbs returned to Valparaiso, accompanied by his brother Francis. The delicate state of Reuben's health had induced his friends to advise him to try the effect of his native air for a few months, but soon after his arrival at Valparaiso it became evident that his lungs

* Extract from a letter written by Mr. Toup Nicholas, who had accompanied Captain Prevost in the Virago to visit Pitcairn Island. He was Her Majesty's Consul-general at Raiatea, the largest of the Society group of islands in the South Pacific. It is situated a hundred and fifty miles from Pitcairn, and is about forty miles in circumference, mountainous, with extensive and well-watered valleys.

were seriously affected, and that he thought his case hopeless was shown in an extract from his letter to Rear-admiral Moresby, dated Valparaiso:

"April 27th, 1854.

"There are several reasons for which I desire to lose neither time nor opportunity in returning home. Not merely that I think the voyage (if at all a pleasant one), with the balmy air of my native isle, will do much to restore me, nor the natural desire to have my bones laid beside those of my relatives and friends. But one reason is, I can not endure the thought of what Francis will suffer, if I am taken away before he will be able to reach home in safety. Another reason is, the effect which I know the report of my having died in a foreign land will have on the anxious, too tender heart of my dear mother. Still I most fervently say, 'Thy will, O Lord, be done! Thou knowest best what to ordain concerning me.' Should it please the Lord to restore me to my home, and even to a comparatively sound state of health, I shall endeavor by His help and blessing to improve the little talent intrusted to my care in assisting to further the intellectual and in some respects the moral improvement of my people."

The following is an extract from a letter to Rear-admiral Fairfax Moresby, C.B., in which Mr. Nobbs announces with much feeling the death of his son Reuben:

"Pitcairn, July 16th, 1855.

"I have received your most kind and acceptable letters of the respective dates of the 15th of June and 29th of July, 1854. I immediately convened the community, and read to them your letters.

"We are now on the eve of yam-harvest, and though the crop is quite a poor one, we have a good stock of sweet-potatoes to turn to, though few or none to spare for ships; however, humanly speaking, the pinch of this year is over, and by perhaps next March, when a sort of six upon four term commences, we may, if it pleases God, be *en route* for Norfolk Island. We are going on very com-

fortably at present; both church and school are well attended, and a very great degree of unanimity exists.

"And now I have to record a dispensation it has pleased Almighty God to visit on myself and family. I do not call it an afflictive dispensation, for although in the bereavement many of my earthly anticipations were prostrated, still I am most graciously permitted to sing of mercy and judgment. Last December my two sons, Reuben and Francis, who had gone to Valparaiso in the Dido, returned hither, the eldest, Reuben, far gone in pulmonary consumption, and the other having betrayed incipient indications of the same disease. Their many friends in Valparaiso advised their return, as the only means (humanly speaking) of restoring Francis to health, and arresting for a short time the fatal malady which was rapidly bearing poor Reuben to the grave.

"They accordingly left Valparaiso in a French ship bound to Tahiti, and remained there two months without being able to obtain a passage home, but they were efficiently cared for by some good Samaritans residing there. Still Reuben kept declining, and fears were entertained that he would never see Pitcairn again. At length, when all hopes began to give way, an opportunity unexpectedly offered. An American ship from California, ostensibly bound on a pleasure-trip, arrived at Tahiti, when the owner of the vessel, in conjunction with the gentleman who professed to have chartered her, on hearing of the situation and desires of my children, promptly offered to convey them hither. They were accordingly received on board, and after a lengthened passage of twenty-two days arrived here. During the passage they were treated with the greatest kindness and sympathy by these gentlemen and several other passengers, among whom was a lady, the wife of the principal personage on board, and she too was most indefatigable in her motherly attentions to my poor boy. Before they left us (after a sojourn of two days) they sent on shore from their cabin-stores a very large quantity of such things as would be serviceable to

Reuben, and, moreover, they refused payment in any shape for the passage but thanks of gratitude, and these were most heartily accorded them by the whole community.

"My poor boy sank rapidly after his return. I saw from the first there was no probability of his recovery; but this stroke of domestic affliction was mercifully divested of much of its severity on finding that he was perfectly aware of his situation, and not only resigned to it, but anxiously desirous to depart and enter into the joy of his Lord. Sometimes his dear mother, flattered by the specious appearance of his insidious disease, would hint at the probability of his being yet spared to us. But, with a gentle shake of the head, he would reply, 'No, dear mother, I feel I am rapidly approaching the grave; humanly speaking, my recovery is impossible, and that my dear father knows as well as I do; and, if it is not improper to entertain such a wish, I would rather not return to health again. My earnest desire and prayer is to depart and be with Christ, which is far better.' Such was the tenor of his discourse during the short time he was spared us; and he died strong in faith, giving glory to God. An hour before his death he was seized with a violent spasm, which we thought would have carried him off; but he rallied again. Seeing his mother weeping, he said, 'Do not weep, mother; one more such stroke, and I shall be in the arms of my Saviour.' Shortly after he had another attack, and nothing remained but his attenuated form. The happy spirit had returned to join the glorified throng. He died on Friday afternoon, March 2d, at six o'clock.

"The Sunday before his death, I administered to him the Holy Eucharist. There were eight of us present, and it was a time of refreshing; so awfully sublime did it appear to us all, that we felt as if we were indeed where Jacob felt himself to be on his awakening at Luz. Most grateful did I feel that I was invested with full authority to dispense this most precious rite—that I could stand by the bed of my dying child, and offer him the symbols of a

dying Saviour's love, and declare the remission of sins through faith in His all-sufficient atonement. I repeat, I felt most grateful to those who, under God, were instrumental in conferring upon me clerical ordination; and I am sure a full share of that gratitude was reflected towards yourself, my well-beloved and respected friend.

"The remains of my beloved child were deposited with their kindred dust, the first fruits of a family of eleven children. And should it please my Heavenly Father to call the survivors from time to eternity, and they were graciously permitted to witness as good a confession as their departed brother did, I humbly believe I could bow with submission to the righteous mandate, and say 'It is well.'

"To that phase of the consistent professor's life, the chamber where the good man meets his fate, I can revert with unmingled satisfaction. It has been my privilege to attend the bed of sickness among this community for twenty-seven years, and I have frequently had the unspeakable happiness to listen to the testimony of the dying believer; to see death so robbed of its sting, that the soul before quitting its frail tenement seemed invested with an antepast of heaven. Such manifestations can by no means be construed into mental hallucinations or transient feelings of excited gratitude. For—not to recur to the happy state of mind in which many of our immortals have entered the 'dark valley'—here (I refer to my deceased child) was a young man prostrated in the prime of his days, and for many weeks standing on the brink of eternity, with a full and solemn view of his state deeply impressed on his mind, both from his own feelings, and the conversation of his sorrowing but happy friends. Yet he could, amidst the ravages and exhaustion of pulmonary consumption, so entirely resign himself to the providential dispensation of his Heavenly Father, as to make the exemplary words of his suffering and acquiescent Saviour the frequent and earnest theme of his aspiration—'Not my will, but thine be done.' I have repeated the solemn

words 'Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust,' and committed to the tomb the first fruits of a family of eleven children; and should it please my Heavenly Father to call the survivors from time into eternity, I still believe I could exclaim, with the prophet of old, 'I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation.'

"Three weeks after the demise of my son, death made another inroad among us. A little boy, ten years of age, son of my wife's sister, Maria Quintal, pierced his foot with a barbed arrow (used for taking fish from the holes in the rocks), which induced *tetanus*, and in forty-eight hours after the terrible disease had commenced, his happy spirit flew to the realms of bliss. During the period of the violent constrictions of the suffering body, the dear child would speak of his blessed Saviour, and ask Him to take him to be with those whom He took in His arms when on earth. The patient sufferer was aware that he could not recover; still he never expressed the least fear of death. At the time of his departure I was praying with him, his parents and several other persons kneeling around his bed, when he gave a slight shudder, and exclaimed in a clear, audible voice, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!'

"But one fortnight had elapsed from that period, when another sad and awful bereavement fell upon the community. Daniel M'Koy and his wife went to the north-west side of the island in quest of fish. After descending to the rocks, Daniel left his wife and reascended, with the intention of passing the head of a small inlet of the sea, and then going down to the rocks on the other side. While doing so he fell, and his wife saw him roll down the fall of the crag and lie motionless on the rugged lava; but there was the before-mentioned inlet between them, into which a very heavy surf was running; to avoid which Daniel had gone round the head of the bight, and it was in the act of descending to the shore on the other side that he fell. His wife, without hesitation, plunged into the heavy surf (which she had unfortunately persuaded her husband to avoid), and, landing on the opposite side of the inlet,

found him on the rugged lava of the shore—a corpse. She had the presence of mind, previous to her braving the foam-crested billows, to call a lad at some distance fishing, and dispatch him to the village with the sad tidings that Daniel had fallen, but she did not then know the extent of his hurt. Less than half an hour previous he had left her with a smile on his countenance, for Daniel was always in a cheerful mood. What must have been the poor creature's agony as she sat by her dead husband, with his head resting in her lap, for more than an hour ere any one could come to her assistance! Her feelings I will not attempt to describe, but I will tell you what she did. On finding life extinct, she knelt down and prayed that God would give her grace so to live that she might rejoin her dear Daniel in heaven. 'For I am sure,' said she, when speaking to me on the subject, 'that he was prepared for death, and that takes away the pain of my great loss.'

"I was in bed at the time of the accident suffering from bronchitis, when a long, low wail reached my ear, accompanied by exclamations of grief. Jumping from my bed, I ran out of doors, forgetting that I was, or had been, sick, and on inquiring what was the matter, learned that Daniel M'Koy was badly hurt, if not killed, by falling from the precipice. Most of the men were out in their canoes fishing, it being Saturday; the two or three that were at home hastened to the spot, and several of the women followed, among whom was my wife. Now, as they would have to go the same route by which the deceased fell, I was in great fear lest a similar accident might befall Mrs. Nobbs, and a heavy load was removed when I saw her return in safety. She had not got so far as the dangerous part of the road, when she met one of the men returning, who informed her that poor Daniel was dead. A canoe was sent to summon home the fishermen, and the whale-boat was manned and taken to the spot where the corpse lay, when, with some difficulty and danger, on account of the heavy surf, it was put into a boat and brought round to Bounty Bay, then transferred to a canoe for a bier, and

borne on men's shoulders to the village. I had been busy preparing bandages and such other things as might be necessary, and placed them in the house to which I supposed he would be brought, but the sad tidings of his death rendered all my intentions useless. However, busying myself about these things kept me in a great measure from the painful impressions induced by suspense, and from fretting myself about the safety of my dear wife. But a chapter from the Bible and a few words of prayer I found to be a panacea. At length the women returned, with my wife and eldest daughter (who I did not know had gone), and I was truly thankful.

"A messenger now came from Bounty Bay, summoning me thither, as the sister and brother of the deceased were both attacked with spasmodic fits. Taking some remedies, I started, but met them on their way home. Poor Lydia M'Koy came home in the whale-boat with the corpse. On examining the injuries, I found the spine broken at the bend of the shoulders, and the occiput badly fractured, but there were no other bones broken, that I could ascertain.

"Such, and so sudden, was the death of Daniel M'Koy, a young man beloved by all the community, and most deservedly so. He is the third of the family who has met an untimely end within a very few years. William M'Koy died from lockjaw, occasioned by a splinter of wood running into the upper part of his foot; Matthew M'Koy from wounds received by the accidental explosion of the Bounty's gun; and now the third brother, Daniel, by falling from a precipice on the north-western side of the island. May the God of the widow support poor Lydia under the awful calamity! She has no children to rest her affections upon; but she has a mother, and brothers and sisters, and receives the sympathy of the whole community. On Him, who above all others well deserves the name of Friend, may she place her unwavering trust; to Him let her flee as a very present help in trouble; and all will then be well both for time and eternity."

CHAPTER VI.

Removal of the Pitcairn Islanders to Norfolk Island.—Directions of his Excellency, Sir William Denison, K.C.B., respecting Allotments of Land.—Correspondence.—Voyage.—Arrival at Norfolk Island.—Reception by Captain Denham, H.M.S. Herald.—Visit of Bishop and Mrs. Selwyn, and of the Rev. G. N. Patteson.

It will have been observed that during the later years of the period we have just concluded a change had begun to manifest itself in the state of affairs at Pitcairn.

The colony, hitherto so prosperous, had now increased to such an extent that the "small rock in the west" was no longer able to maintain the population. Their difficulty appears to have been recognized by their friends in England as early as the year 1853, and Admiral Moresby, in a dispatch to the Lords of the Admiralty, observes: "Their rapidly increasing numbers render the produce of the island barely sufficient to support them; and even, with the liberal supplies given by Her Majesty's Government, and the yet larger contributions of private friends, allow but little to exchange with the whalers for necessary articles. Thus," he concludes, "the time has arrived when measures should be taken for their future welfare." While the attention of the Pitcairn Island Fund Committee was being anxiously turned in this direction, the Government had happily determined that Norfolk Island should be abandoned as a convict station.

Before any steps were taken regarding the removal of the islanders, the following reports were received from the officers who had belonged to the commissariat department in Norfolk Island while it was a convict station,

and who, therefore, were well qualified to speak of its climate and the productions.

Extract from JOHN W. SMITH'S *Report on Norfolk Island.*

"Commissariat, Ionian Islands, Corfu, March 19th, 1853.

"From November, 1841, to March, 1845, I had charge of the commissariat duties at Norfolk Island, and having been thus afforded peculiar opportunities for ascertaining the agricultural and other resources of that very beautiful spot, I have no hesitation in expressing a decided opinion that it would prove most suitable for both the present inhabitants of Pitcairn's Island and their progeny for many years to come.

"Its size may be estimated at about four times that of Pitcairn's Island, being twenty-seven miles in circumference and covering a surface of twelve thousand acres, the greater part of which is of a black vegetable soil, remarkable for its richness and fertility. In fact, there is very little inferior land, or, indeed, any that does not answer for, at least, grazing purposes.

"The climate is healthy, and in this respect there can not be much dissimilarity between the two places, considering their relative positions. At every season of the year there is an abundant supply of good water in convenient situations; and although the resources for fuel must be a good deal diminished, still with economy and prudent management no apprehension need be entertained on this head, as a great number of young trees will be coming forward; and even if the wood should have to be brought from distant localities, this would be rendered comparatively easy by the excellent roads with which the island is intersected in every direction. There is neither coal nor any other mineral production, so far as can be ascertained from researches hitherto made.

"The staple articles of agricultural produce are maize and sweet-potatoes. Crops of these may always be reckoned upon, though from accidental causes they sometimes

fall rather short of an average. Yams, pumpkins, and even the common potato, may be grown to any extent, so that a superabundance of wholesome food, such as they have been accustomed to, would surely be available, not only for the primitive islanders themselves but for all the live-stock they might require to maintain.

"Nearly all the varieties of English vegetables are raised in profusion; and the soil and climate are so peculiarly favorable to the growth of coffee, arrowroot, and tobacco, that these articles, in addition to poultry, eggs, etc., would afford the settlers a very valuable means of barter for clothing and such other extraneous supplies as they may require. Coffee in particular may be mentioned, which is of the finest quality, and can be propagated to almost any extent from the present stock, which is by no means inconsiderable; while, from the light description of labor required in its care and gathering, it would afford a very suitable occupation to the women and children of the community.

"Guavas and lemons grow wild to an unlimited extent, and there are two crops of the former every year; they come in well to assist in feeding pigs. Oranges are scarce, but there are plenty of peaches, grapes, melons, figs, and quinces, with even bananas and pine-apples, which, growing as they do in the open air, will give a very good idea of the salubrity of the climate."

MR. PACE, *Civil Commander, to the Comptroller-general, etc.*

"Cape Town, June 3d, 1852.

"The soil of Norfolk Island is of excellent quality (similar to that of Pitcairn Island). In favorable seasons an acre of land of average quality would produce about fifty bushels of maize; from twenty to twenty-five tons of sweet-potatoes are obtained from a similar space; about a ton of arrowroot is the average crop from the acre. Wheat is of uncertain growth; the barley and oats of the island are also inferior, but rye of good quality is obtained

to the amount of about thirty bushels to the acre. All English vegetables grow abundantly during the winter and spring months. The lemon and guava are found in abundance in all the gullies in the island. The grape, the fig, the orange, the shaddock, pine-apple, mulberry, olive, loquat, custard-apple, and other fruits grow in the gardens; and the whole island is capable of being placed under cultivation.

"About six hundred acres have been under the plough, but I imagine, from my knowledge of the rapid growth of the weeds in that climate, that the cleared land has already become a wilderness; but, of course, it can be easily recovered, having once been under cultivation. Fish is abundant off the coast. The natural grasses are capable of sustaining about six thousand sheep, and, I should say, one thousand head of horned cattle, together with a sufficiency of horses for agricultural purposes. The main fences are new, and, I believe, will last for the next nine years; the roads are in fair order; the jetty is perfect, so far as it has been carried out; the stone-ways for the boats were about being laid down when I left the island. The buildings are in good repair; a new barn and stable have been recently erected. The siloes for the storage of grain have been put in perfect order; and several new and substantial quarters erected for civilians. Limestone, sawing and splitting timber, as likewise fire-wood, are in abundance; and there exists no doubt in my mind that Norfolk Island is fully capable of maintaining from three to four thousand *free* people.

"The cotton-tree would be the greatest difficulty they would have to contend against at Norfolk Island. It would also be necessary that they should take steps to keep up the supply of fire-wood. Live-stock, agricultural implements, and other articles could be left on the island for their use."

A more fortunate opportunity could scarcely have presented itself for meeting the requirements of the Pitcairn

colony. An area of between ten and twelve thousand acres of fertile land would afford space for the new settlers for a century to come, while the remote position and exposed coast-line of the island would enable them to maintain that seclusion which had been productive of such happy results. The Pitcairn Fund* Committee accordingly requested Admiral Moresby to communicate with the inhabitants of Pitcairn, and to learn whether they would be desirous of moving to Norfolk Island in case it were possible to obtain it for their occupation. An answer was received in the affirmative, and the chief magistrate and councillors observed in their reply: "It is very evident that the time is not far distant when Pitcairn Island will be altogether inadequate to the rapidly-increasing population, and the inhabitants do unanimously agree in soliciting the aid of the British Government in transferring them to Norfolk Island, or some other appropriate place." They at the same time expressed a hope that they might be allowed to remain in the same seclusion which they had hitherto enjoyed in Pitcairn. The assent of the Government to these arrangements having been obtained, the execution of them was committed to Sir William Denison, K.C.B., Governor-general of New South Wales, and Captain Freemantle, R.N., commanding the Juno.

The latter accordingly paid a visit to Pitcairn in 1855, when, to his surprise, he found the people by no means unanimous in their desire for removal. The lamentable results of the migration to Tahiti appeared to be still fresh in the memory of the elder part of the community. Captain Freemantle, convinced that the change would be

* Some of the most influential of their friends had formed a committee to protect the interests of the islanders, and to manage the funds collected for their benefit.

greatly for their benefit, exerted himself to overcome their apprehensions, and that natural clinging which all feel for the place of their birth; and his representations were attended with so much success that, finally, all but a very small minority agreed to accept the offered grant. He concludes his account of this visit with the following testimony to the character and good-will of the islanders:

"I can only add my corroboration to their still remaining the same cheerful, docile, and unsophisticated community they have so often been represented to be. The enthusiasm displayed by the officers, and especially by the ship's company, for their welfare, was quite uncontrollable; they were ready to part with any thing, every thing, to supply or gratify them, and equally anxious to carry away some object or token in remembrance of the island, even to the stones on the beach; but the girls, perceiving this, ran and collected a quantity of tappa, sufficient for every man in the ship to receive a suitable memorial."

As a man-of-war could not be spared from the station, an emigrant ship, the Morayshire, was commissioned to transfer the islanders to their new home. Lieutenant Gregorie of the Juno was appointed to superintend the removal; but on his arrival at Pitcairn he found the work of persuasion had to be undertaken over again, although Sir William Denison had drawn up a report of Norfolk Island, describing the advantages offered.

The directions to Lieutenant Gregorie respecting the distribution of land in Norfolk Island to the Pitcairn colony were as follows:

"Sir W. Denison *to* Acting-Lieutenant Gregorie, R.N., *Agent on board the ship Morayshire.*

"February, 1856.

"You will proceed to divide among the different families the land, which, having been already cleared, will

probably be easier brought into cultivation than the bush-land; and you will impress upon each and all the absolute necessity of proceeding to clear and cultivate it without delay. Maize has been sent down for seed, and sweet-potatoes will be found in the island itself.

"You will mark off a portion of the cleared as a reserve for church and school purposes; that is, as a glebe for the clergyman, which will be sufficient for his support and for that of a school-master, say one hundred and fifty or two hundred acres.

"You will also mark off as a reserve for public purposes a portion of land along the margin of the sea at both landing-places, and it would probably be as well that the land now occupied by the jail and some other of the public buildings should be included in this public reserve, unless they are absolutely required for private occupation.

"Of the inclosed land, a portion, say five hundred acres, more or less, may be reserved for public purposes."

A few enterprising spirits seconded Lieutenant Gregorie's efforts, but in general he encountered a depressing amount of indifference which the Tahitian connection seemed to have infused into the character of the people. At length, however, his earnest representations, assisted greatly by the prospect of an unconditional grant of such a valuable possession as Norfolk Island, prevailed.

Mr. Robinson,* who accompanied Lieutenant Gregorie, gives the following account of these negotiations:

"We had previously heard that there were some who all along expressed a determination not to leave their birthplace, and our object in this second meeting was to hear the reasons they had to adduce, and on our part to exert ourselves to the utmost to bring them round to

* Mr. Robinson had taken a passage in the Morayshire, for the benefit of his health, and to assist in the removal of the Pitcairn Islanders to Norfolk Island.

adopt a course which we considered would be conferring upon them a lasting benefit. At the hour appointed every man was at his post, and the matter was argued with great spirit 'pro and con.' Some of the older people began to recur to their departure from the island many years previously, when they were removed to Tahiti by the British Government—from whence the survivors made their way back after suffering great privations, and the loss of many of those who had been their companions at the outset—and they could not remove from their minds the idea that this was going to be a second edition. Others could not bear the thought of leaving the graves of their relatives, and the home in which they had been born, brought up, and spent so many happy days. We soon found that, owing to their relationship being so interwoven by marriage, unless we could bring all the old folks into our way of thinking, many families must be left behind, as the younger part were universally inclined to go, provided they were accompanied by their parents. So we set about in good earnest by the most persuasive arguments to bring them to a belief that wiser heads than theirs had concocted this plan with no other view than for their benefit, and that if it were rejected, after all the trouble and expense incurred by the British Government, they must forfeit all further claim on, and protection from, those who had hitherto been their greatest benefactors, and who were now displaying it in so noble a manner as to place at their disposal one of the most beautiful islands in the world. We eventually succeeded, and brought away every soul."

Captain Denham* of H.M.S. Herald, who had been carrying on a survey for several years in the South Pacific Ocean, in a Hydrographic notice addressed to Captain Washington, R.N., Hydrographer to the Admiralty, dated Norfolk Island, June 16th, 1856, observes:

* Now Vice-admiral Sir Henry Denham, K.C.B.

"Looking to the date of the transport Morayshire, Mr. John Mathers, belonging to Mr. Dunbar, London, acting under the agency of Lieutenant G. W. Gregorie, of H.M.S. Juno, having left Sydney under instructions of His Excelleney, the governor-general, and of Captain S. G. Freemantle, last February to bring the Pitcairn Island community to this island, I had reason to expeet them every day. As the presenee of one of Her Majesty's ships at the new home of that interesting people would doubtless eheer them, as well as afford essential aid in landing and organizing them, and of elearing the island as soon as possible of its residue as a penal settlement—upon all which points and general views I was cognizant of the wishes of Government—I became solicitous of being on the spot.

"Fortunately on Sunday, 8th of June, although a gloomy, boisterous day, with considerable surf, the Morayshire not only closed with the island, but being joined by the Herald, and assisted by a tracing of our survey, took up a favorable position for disembarkation, and by sunset the Pitcairn community, numbering one hundred and ninety-four persons, were comfortably housed as well as landed. I was invited to their first evening serviee in their new home, when a special thanksgiving was rendered unto God for the preservation vouchsafed to them.

"It was an exemplary manifestation of habitual piety, that would not allow fatigue, amounting with many to almost exhaustion, nor excitement at the extreme novelty of all around them, to interfere with their wonted primary duty of life.

"To the manner in which Acting-lieutenant Gregorie managed their embarkation, so that every movable article, even to the 'gun' and 'anvil' of the Bounty, has been transferred, and the accommodating spirit in which the master of the transport carried out his undertaking on a five weeks' passage—during which the most tender treatment was necessary for alarming cases of sea-sickness that ceased not from island to island, including a birth which took place—may be attributed the accomplishment

of an event so vitally important to this community, and in accordance with the deep interest taken in them by Her Majesty and the Government. The ensuing week has been successfully employed in landing all the seventy years' gathering of chattels belonging to the Pitcairners; notwithstanding the precarious sea-board of this island, causing ships to put to sea every night. They could therefore duly observe yesterday's Sabbath in the first fitted-up church they had seen, when the sacrament was most impressively administered to us all. Our artificers have communicated to these apt people the uses of a variety of tools and implements, including that of the wind and water-mill on the island."

We shall now give some extracts from Mr. Nobbs's diary of the embarkation at Pitcairn, the voyage, and arrival of the community at Norfolk Island.

"*Pitcairn, Monday, April* 21*st*, 1856.—This afternoon, while busily engaged in the school, a piercing and electrifying shout informed me that a ship was in sight; but it was a long time before any one came down from the hill to inform me what she looked like. About three o'clock it was ascertained she was a large merchant-ship, standing in for the land. At four she rounded St. Peter's rock, and then we perceived she had a pennant flying. On this being made known, some one exclaimed, 'That is the ship come to convey us to Norfolk Island, and the pennant denotes she has a naval officer on board.' Having heard from the Dido, but little more than a week since, that the ship for removing us was not to be here before the latter end of July, I could not believe this was the vessel, although every one seemed to be sure it was she.

"As soon as she came within distance, a canoe with two men went to the vessel (both our whale-boats being in pieces), and we were anxiously looking for the preconcerted signal, if, indeed, the general conjecture should be correct. No signal, however, appeared; but one of the men who went on board in the canoe stood on the ship's taff-

rail and waved his cap to seaward, which was interpreted by the most sanguine as an acknowledgment that it was the Norfolk Island ship. Still I continued in unbelief, until the ship's boat landed, bringing the commander and Lieutenant Gregorie of the Juno, appointed to superintend the embarkation of all those who were disposed to accept Her Majesty's most gracious offer: to wit, Norfolk Island and all that appertains thereto, for themselves and families.* Such an unqualified offer of so beautiful a spot is easier to imagine than to realize, but it is a *bonâ fide* reality to us. And yet there is more than one family who demur at going, and I regret to say too much coaxing and persuading has been used by Lieutenant Gregorie and the commander of the ship; but they did it from pure benevolence.

"However, all hands, except George Adams's family (I do not include his eldest son), went steadily to work packing and carrying; and here I give a few extracts from my private journal:

"24*th*.—A fresh breeze from the southward, and the surf is rugged at Bounty Bay. At seven o'clock the ship anchored, but at too great a distance from the shore. A southerly squall, blowing across the island, caused the ship to drag, and very soon the anchor could not touch the bottom with fifty fathoms of chain out. Some of our people went on board to assist in heaving up the anchor, and heavy work it was. Several hours were unavoidably lost. Five boats well loaded went on board to-day, but it is herculean labor to carry heavy chests and casks down from the village to Bounty Bay, and then pull them off four or five miles to the ship.

"25*th*.—A very fresh breeze this morning. The *bell* was

* This communication caused an unfortunate impression to rest on their minds, which, as will be seen in the succeeding pages, was a source of much pain and disappointment. There should have been a distinct understanding, in fact, a charter, defining the extent of their rights and property in the island. It is, however, very probable that on such an understanding they would not have left Pitcairn.

rung at daylight to commence work: got off eight loads during the day, without any accident. The ship is well provided with excellent boats.

"26*th*.—Fair weather, wind somewhat more to eastward; ship very handy. Employed all the day in getting chests, beds, etc., on board. Towards evening it became squally, and rained heavily. George Adams has at length concluded to go with the rest. Killed a young cow, and sent part of it on board the ship for the use of the crew.

"27*th*, *Sunday*.—Divine service twice, weather fine, baptized Priscilla Pitcairn Quintal, so named, as she will in all probability be the last born (of this community) on the island.

"28*th*.—All hands busily employed embarking chattels, sweet-potatoes, and hogs.

"29*th* and 30*th*.—Cloudy weather, but moderate, the ship a long way off. The sea as smooth as glass, but the ship too far off to attempt going on board. There is a strong current sweeping her to the eastward.

"*May* 1*st*.—A moderate breeze from the southward, the ship handy. This day assembled for the last time (as we supposed) in our church for Divine service. It was a solemn time; most of the congregation were deeply affected. All the rest of the day employed in getting things off to the ship. Went on board to examine her, and found her all that could be desired. Towards evening returned on shore, having had a most kind reception from Captain Mathers. There is no surgeon on board, so that the medical as well as the clerical superintendence will devolve on me.

"*May* 2*d*.—Weather still fair, nearly all our movables on board, so that it is probable, with the permission of the Almighty, we shall embark our families on the coming morrow. Although no demurrage is allowed, the captain complains not of the long detention, but, on the contrary, is anxious we should leave nothing behind that may possibly be of service to us in our new home.

"*Saturday*, *May* 3*d*. — Fine weather, breakfast eaten

with heavy hearts. My family being among those appointed to embark first, previous to doing so, Mrs. Nobbs and myself went into the grave-yard, where are deposited the remains of our first-born. Scarcely a word was spoken by either of us, but tears fell freely. Why? Not because we lamented the lot of a saint in Christ, but because we were about to leave the grave and head-stone, those frail memorials which had become unspeakably dear to us, never to behold them again. These reflections caused our tears, and not an ungrateful repining that our son was with the Lord. *Vale* Reuben! till this corruptible shall put on incorruption.

"In the dusk of the evening Pitcairn Island receded from view. There were very few of the late inhabitants on deck to take a last lingering look at the much-loved and ever-to-be-remembered island, but very many men, women, and children wished themselves on shore again, so intensely were they suffering from sea-sickness. This state of things continued for several days; at length some of the convalescents began to appear on deck, which soon became studded over with smiling faces. The messes were now properly arranged, and regulations similar to those on board well-conducted emigrant ships observed. During the whole passage the community assembled at 7 A.M. on the berth-deck at the ringing of a bell, purposely suspended there, when the Scriptures were read, and prayer offered to the Father of Mercies to implore his protection for the coming day.

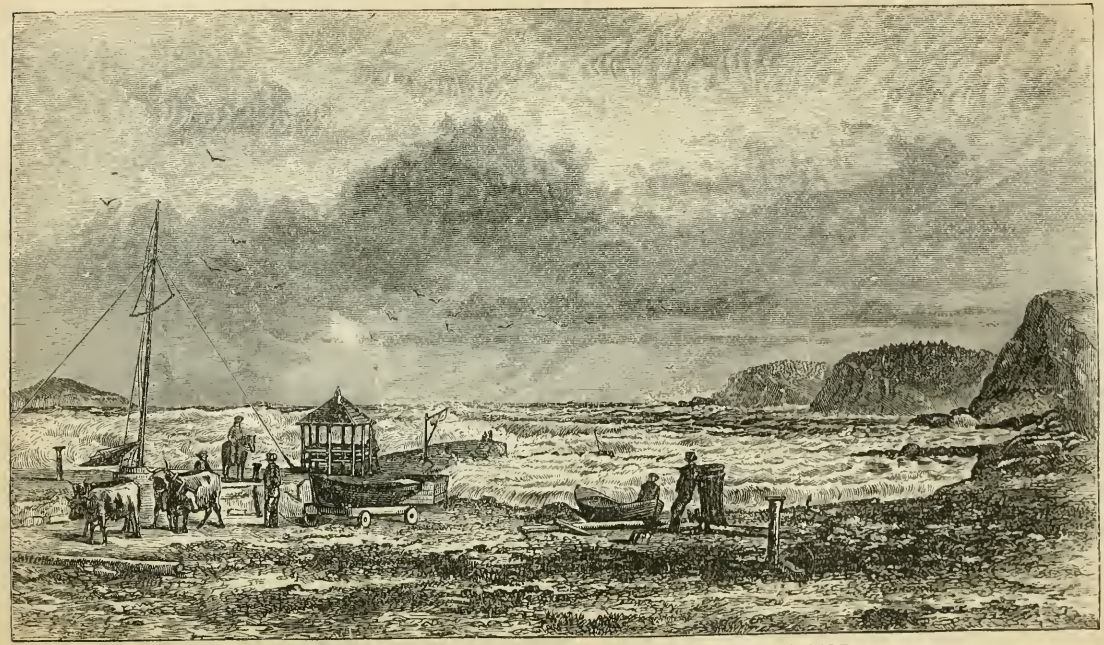
"At eight o'clock the mess-tables were lowered and breakfast commenced; immediately after breakfast all the women and children who were able went on deck, while the men and lads gave the berth-deck a thorough cleansing.

"At 1 P.M. dinner was served, and then such rattling of the plates and spoons, such passing between the mess-tables with soup and beef, or salt pork and peas, or something equally palatable, that it was a pleasant thing to sit at one end of the deck and take a bird's-eye view of the

whole. Grace being said by the senior person of each mess, proofs of good appetite were not wanting, though in that respect there was a manifest difference between a fair wind and a foul one, if the latter was producing a head sea. At 3 P.M. the bell rang, and Divine service was performed, Lieutenant Gregorie always attending with the community. After service all that were able went on deck, and generally remained there till supper-time, which was six o'clock. At eight the bell again rang, and all assembled for prayers. The service commenced by singing a hymn, then reading the Scriptures, prayers, and concluded by all joining in the evening hymn, then whoever chose went to bed; some went to sit on deck for a while, and many of the younger people spent a couple of hours singing under the instruction of Charles Christian. At nine o'clock the captain of the ship and myself went round to see that all was right, and visit the sick in the hospital (if any were there, as was generally the case), and there my duties for the day ended. But frequently I had to get up during the night to attend some one. I also prescribed for those who were unwell among the ship's company. Westerly winds prevailing, we had a long and tedious passage, though not an uncomfortable one.

"*Friday, June 6th.*—'Land ho!' I forgot to note in the proper place that shortly after leaving Pitcairn we changed the day of the week—that is we went forward a day; this was done to make our hebdomadal calendar coincide with that of New South Wales. During the night a very heavy squall struck the ship, and caused some consternation among the more timid; the lightning was also vivid.

"*Sunday, June 8th.*—Cloudy weather. Close in with Norfolk Island; very much disappointed with its appearance from the present point of view, which is directly off the settlement, and presents a succession of hillocks and shallow ravines covered with short brown grass, but scarcely a tree to be seen. Every face wore an expression of disappointment, having been accustomed to hear the



LANDING-PLACE (SYDNEY BAY), NORFOLK ISLAND, IN A S.W. GALE.

island so highly extolled. No doubt other parts have a better appearance, but this side certainly bears no comparison with our Rock in the West.

"At 10 A.M., left, with my family and some others, in the ship's life-boat. It blew fresh, and we were nearly two hours rowing to shore. The wind being off the land during our passage, several squalls of rain occurred, and the boat leaking badly, we were thoroughly drenched, the women and children presenting a most forlorn appearance. Being conducted by Mr. Stewart to his residence, I deposited my wife there, and then returned to the pier. On my way thither, I went into the large building where our people were congregating, and seeing they were beginning to feel comfortable, I returned to the landing-place. One of the Government prisoners—doing duty as a constable to prevent any one intruding into the precincts of the large building (formerly the soldiers' barracks) where our people were assembling—seeing how thoroughly drenched I was, gave me so pressing an invitation to go to his dwelling, which was adjacent, and change my clothes, that I did not refuse his offer. He supplied me with a decent suit, and moreover brought me a mug of hot tea and some excellent bread and butter. All this was done so respectfully, and with such good grace, that I forgot that this man was a twice-convicted prisoner. He was a man, as I afterwards learned, of good education, and had formerly filled a very responsible situation in H.M.'s Customs in Ireland, but was banished for forgery. Having partially gained his freedom, he again committed some offense, for which he was exiled for life to Norfolk Island; but his good conduct had obtained him some indulgence, and he was now acting as chief constable over the ten or twelve prisoners who remained to take care of the place until our arrival.

"*Monday, 9th.*—Moderate weather. Every thing denotes that we are in a strange country; the size of the houses—the oxen yoked to the carts, bringing our goods from the pier to the place where we reside—this same

building three stories high, and each room eighteen feet in height; all and every thing astonished our people.

"*Sunday*, 15*th*.—For some days little has been done towards landing any thing, the Morayshire being obliged from bad weather to get under way. Divine service twice in the church, which is much out of repair about the roof. Administered the Holy Communion to fifty-eight persons, but the only persons not of our community were Captain Denham and Mr. Gregorie.

"There are two things in which we feel disappointed, to wit, the paucity of wood and water. There is scarcely a tree in sight from the settlement, except some dozen or two pines planted near the Government-house, and, with one exception, all the water has to be raised from a few dangerous wells, sixty or seventy feet deep. We expected from what we had heard to have found many rivulets, and plenty of trees around the houses, but all stand exposed to the bleak south wind. There is wood about the vicinity of Mount Pitt and towards the Cascades—which, by-the-by, is a misnomer, for there is very little water there—but the trees within two miles of our dwelling are few and far between.

"*Wednesday*, 25*th*.—Our boats went on board and, with the assistance of the men-of-war's boats, got the remainder of our things on shore, and in good condition. The Morayshire is now ready for sea. Mr. and Mrs. Stewart embarked, with the convict establishment under his charge. The Herald will also sail to-morrow. Captain Freemantle came on shore and read to me the articles respecting the cession of Norfolk Island (with certain reserves) to the community, late of Pitcairn Island. He then handed the paper over to the magistrate (Frederick Young), to be reserved as a memorial of the cession.

"*Thursday*, 26*th*.—Early this morning Captain Mathers embarked, and with him our most respected and worthy friend Augustus Robinson, Esq. From the time this gentleman landed at Pitcairn to this day, he has been held in the highest estimation by the whole community. His suav-

ity of manner and intelligent conversation, with the kindly interest he took in the welfare of every one, have obtained for him a remembrance that will long be gratefully cherished. The Morayshire got under way, and proceeded to Van Diemen's Land. God preserve those on board!"

Mr. Robinson's impression of the character of the islanders was equally favorable. He writes to a friend:

"My sojourn amongst these interesting people extended over a period of two months, during which I had every opportunity of becoming acquainted with their manners, habits, and general mode of life, and I can easily imagine that they must have been superlatively happy at Pitcairn. It is to be hoped that as soon as they become settled in their new abode they will enjoy themselves as fully there. Their modesty of demeanor, urbanity of manner, affectionate disposition, and personal appearance, have won for them the esteem and admiration of all who have visited them. Their extreme absence of suspicion renders them peculiarly liable to fall a prey to designing individuals, and it is sincerely to be hoped, now that they are to be brought into contact with more of the evil existing in the world, they may be preserved from its injurious effects. They place implicit reliance in every word that is said, as they have not the slightest idea of any thing in the shape of a joke; and if they do afterwards discover that any thing has been told them with this intent, it is set down as a falsehood. The mode of salutation adopted by the females, especially after the first introduction, is by a kiss, which is given, on their part, with as great a degree of modesty as exists during the exchange of civilities amongst more enlightened communities. They appear more like one large family, and the indiscriminate attention shown towards each other's offspring, when any difficulty or danger exists, is very striking. I never witness-

ed any thing approaching to ill-feeling or anger amongst them, and a passage of Scripture inculcated into their minds by old John Adams, 'Never to allow the sun to go down upon their wrath,' appears to have become so completely a part of their duty, that I was informed by Mr. Nobbs they might often be seen in the evening issuing from one another's houses to meet and make up any little recrimination that had taken place during the day. In sickness the attention paid towards each other is such, that they take it in turn to remain up with the invalid during the night, and arrange their watches without difficulty. This I witnessed over and over again on board.

"As a proof of the affection displayed towards their offspring, I will just mention one circumstance, among many, that came more particularly under my observation. On our arrival we found an infant, about three months old, very dangerously ill, suffering from convulsions. This child was the grand-daughter of Mr. George Adams, a man of about fifty-two years of age. Mr. Nobbs, the pastor and surgeon, gave it as his opinion that the child could not long survive. The idea of taking it on board in this state, and having probably to throw it into the sea, was so revolting to the parents, and the old man especially, that he gave vent to his feelings in the most immoderate manner, and had it not been that a decided change for the better took place before embarkation, I feel confident they would have remained behind, and thus materially interfered with our plans. They did, however, take the precaution of bringing a coffin, but as this was entirely at variance with nautical ideas, it was thrown into the sea. During the passage the baby recovered, but only to die a few days after landing, and it was the first of their number that was consigned to the earth at Norfolk Island. I attended the funeral, conducted after the form of the

Church of England, with the exception of the conclusion, which was by singing a hymn chosen by the relatives of the departed. Tears flowed fast from almost every eye. The agonized feelings of the mother, and, indeed, the whole scene, made such an impression on my mind as will not easily be effaced.

"After remaining with them at their new abode about a fortnight, we parted with mutual regret. They had on several occasions asked me seriously to remain, and, although I fancy I could have been very happy, at any rate for some time, I was compelled to decline their invitation, having business to attend to elsewhere."

June 26th, the same day the Morayshire sailed, Mr. Nobbs continues his diary by remarking:

"At 4 P.M. Captain Denham embarked, and soon after the Herald sailed. The Juno also got up her anchor, but is not yet going to leave us.

"*Sunday, 29th.*—Rainy weather. Divine service twice. The roof of the church is leaky, and my surplice is no protection. I fear we shall have to abandon the church, and use one of the large rooms in the Barracks (which is almost the only building in repair) in its stead.

"*Friday, July 4th.*—This morning a sail was descried at no great distance. By her rig we were at no great loss to understand whom she had on board, for we had learned that the Bishop of New Zealand* had touched here a short

* "In the year 1842, Bishop Selwyn was consecrated to the diocese of New Zealand, together with the islands adjacent; but for seven years his time was so much taken up on the main land, that, although the islands of Melanesia were always in his mind, he had no opportunity of personally visiting them and seeing their state for himself. It was not until 1849 that he was able to sail in his little Undine, a tiny schooner of twenty-two tons, in which he was wont to visit the shores of New Zealand and the northern islands, and that he laid the foundation of the 'Melanesian Mission.' Norfolk Island is the most southern point of this mission, although not originally comprehended in it.

time previous to our arrival, and that his lordship intended to go to Sydney and then return hither. As soon as she approached near enough, our whale-boat went on board, and soon returned, bringing the bishop's chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Patteson.

"The bishop proposes landing to-morrow, and bringing Mrs. Selwyn with him. Mr. Patteson took up his abode with me, and after supper the community assembled at my house, and remained some hours engaged in edifying conversation and singing, which greatly pleased the reverend gentleman.

"*Saturday, 5th.*—Fine weather this morning. The Rev. Mr. Patteson returned on board, and the bishop and Mrs. Selwyn came on shore. We, as it may be supposed, gave them a hearty welcome, and Government-house being vacant, it was appropriated to their use during their stay. In the evening the people assembled at the bishop's residence, and were much pleased to find that a bishop could condescend to men of low estate. Myself busied at home preparing a sermon for the occasion—not polishing it, but endeavoring to set forth the duties of pastor and people; I trust it answered the intention; I am sure I earnestly prayed that it might.

"*Sunday, 6th.*—Divine service twice, with the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. At the morning service I read prayers, and the bishop preached a most effective sermon; it was almost extemporary. Afternoon, the bishop read prayers, and mine was the sermon. After service the Sunday-school was assembled for the first time since our arrival. The bishop took one class, Mrs. Selwyn another, and Mr. Harper, who accompanied the bishop, took a

"These islands are inhabited by a perfectly distinct race of people from the olive-colored, straight-haired Malay population of the adjoining tract of Polynesia. They lie between 150° and 170° east long., and between the equator and the tropic of Capricorn, and, together with Australia and New Guinea, on account of the dark skin of the inhabitants, received from the French the name of Melanesia."—*Island Mission*, page 1, reprinted from *Mission Life*.

third, the other classes were attended by their usual teachers. The classes gave entire satisfaction. In the evening many of our people went to listen to the bishop's very instructive conversation.

"*Monday, 7th.*—Fine weather. The bishop and myself went through the prisons and other departments of the convict establishment, but no sound was there of good or evil. They were merely dreadful mementos of the past. Still it was harrowing to pass through the barriers of wood and stone, and to be continually stepping on bolts and shackles, and using much strength to swing on their hinges the ponderous doors of cells and dungeons, which when closed were impervious to the light of day; and it seemed to me that even the very air was forbidden to enter, except in very insufficient quantities. Oh, these were irrefragable proofs of the depravity of the nature of man —that being whom God made upright, but whose rebellious perverseness brought upon himself tribulation and wrath to the uttermost!

"In the evening the bishop held a public meeting, in which the interests of the community, temporal and spiritual, were discussed; his lordship also appealed to our sympathies in regard to the heathen, especially those among the islands he is now about to visit. A proposal was also made by him that we should receive a few children from these islands into our families, and teach them the principles of the Christian religion and industrious habits, so that in a few years they might return to their native land and instruct others. I see no objection to our receiving a few children among us to be civilized, as far as civilization has obtained here. I have consented to have one child under my roof, and will do all I can for its welfare, by God's help.

"*Tuesday, 8th.*—Weather very fine. By request the bishop performed divine service, and then prepared to take his departure. Mrs. Selwyn, not enjoying good health, is to remain with us until the bishop's return, and I am glad Mrs. Selwyn is going to stay among us for a time; her in-

struction and example will be of much use to our girls. Jemima Young and my daughter Jane will reside with her. After dinner, went over to the Cascades with the bishop; the boat from the vessel was in waiting. The bishop told the two seamen to come on shore and look about them for an hour, and he himself and one of our people took the oars to pull on board. Of course, the bishop was not permitted to retain his place at the oar, one of our lads relieving him; but I am told that he frequently pulls an oar in his boating expeditions among the islanders—swims through a heavy surf—travels sometimes barefoot and without attendants, among the untamed natives, who view with astonishment and respect his fearless but conciliatory deportment. Towards evening the Southern Cross pursued her errand of mercy. May the apostolic labors of the good bishop be crowned with success!

"We find that fires in the dwelling-houses are quite necessary, but fire-wood must be brought from a long distance. At present, we use the decayed portions of fences, but we shall soon have to go farther afield. Mrs. Selwyn and myself are much engaged in preparing the people for the rite of confirmation, which the bishop intends to confer on his return. The school is kept as it was on Pitcairn Island. Francis Nobbs is the school-master, and I attend four hours every day. Mrs. Selwyn also comes daily to instruct the elder girls of the school in grammar, geography, etc. She is most diligent and condescending. It will be a public loss when she leaves us.

"*August* 19*th*.—Cloudy weather. Killed a bull yesterday, which was served out to the families in proportion to their size. The farmers are employed in breaking up ground with the plough for planting maize; the dairymen have received orders to keep all the milk—except a small quantity for the use of the sick and infants—for the purpose of making butter. This will be a great privation, as the children will drink tea without sugar, if they have milk to mix with the tea. The biscuit being very inferior, and the allowance small, we need some milk to make it

spin out. It is better to go without butter than without milk, and I shall request the magistrate to rescind the order—at any rate, as far as my own family is concerned, and any others who are of the same way of thinking. Many of the community are looking back to their Pitcairn, I should fear, with regret. My wife dreams of it every night."

The following extracts from a letter written by Mrs. Nobbs gives her impressions of their new home:

"Norfolk Island, September, 1856.

"After a passage of five weeks we arrived here, and landed on Sunday, June 8th, amidst squalls of rain, which thoroughly drenched us; but Captain Denham, who was here, had fires prepared and tea ready for us, so that we soon got as comfortable as we could possibly be, in to us such a bewildering place. Every thing was so strange; the immense houses, the herds of cattle grazing, and in the distance the gigantic Norfolk pines, filled us for the moment with amazement. I was conducted by Mr. Steward to the Government-house, and seated by a good fire in the drawing-room (I have learned that name since), which was the first fire I had ever seen in a dwelling-house, and an excellent addition to my previous ideas of domestic comfort.

"The island is not to be compared for fertility with the one we have left, but being much larger there is more room for our children to branch out upon; but I think there are few would not return (and I one of the number) if an opportunity offered. My husband is much annoyed at these expressions of our feelings, and declares that he will never leave Norfolk Island. He is positive that the land is a good land, and that before twelve months we shall be of his opinion. Well, I hope this may be the case, but, bad or good, so long as he makes it his home of course it will be mine, and seeing him so contented and confident, has for certain a good effect upon us all. . . . .

"The place is not nearly so well wooded and watered

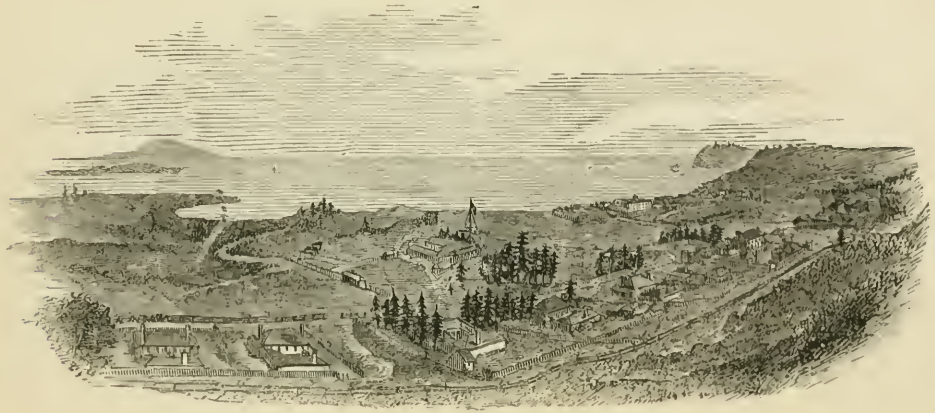
as we thought to have found it; and to a community like this, who, although at Pitcairn they were sometimes straitened in the staple articles of food, had generally something of an inferior kind to fall back upon, the prospect that in two months from this they will be without bread, flour, or any one thing that will answer for a substitute, is not very encouraging. The island, for spontaneous fertility, is not to be compared with the spot we have left, but yet I am sure the land is a good land, and will provide all we need when we *get the means of planting.*"

This next extract is from a letter written by the Rev. Mr. Patteson, chaplain to Bishop Selwyn, to his sister, relating their arrival at the island:

"Mr. Nobbs's House, Norfolk Island, July 5th, 1856.

"I know you will feel interested in receiving a note written from among the Pitcairners in Norfolk Island. Yesterday we sailed up to the island, saw no signs of people being on it, and thought they were not yet come; but at 4 P.M. a boat came off through the swell, manned by six men. As they neared us we saw they were not English — too dark-colored. They came up, jumped on deck, and we shook hands heartily. Familiar names— John Quintal, Frederick Young, John Nobbs (son of the clergyman), etc.

"The bishop and Mrs. Selwyn, intending to come ashore to-day, sent me off with them. I landed at 4 30—the Pitcairners working their boat through the surf admirably. Met Mr. Nobbs and family, and plenty of men and women—thirty families, sixty married people, and one hundred and thirty-four children and young men and women in all. I had tea at Mr. Nobbs's house, and afterwards asked to hear some of the young people sing, which they did *beautifully*, in parts; about twenty-four came to his house, and sang, for two hours and a half, psalms, hymns, and ended with 'God save the Queen,' admirably sung. The simple, modest, and manly behavior, the gentle look of all, men and women, every thing about them, quite con-



PITCAIRN SETTLEMENT (SYDNEY BAY), NORFOLK ISLAND.

firms all that I had read. I enjoyed the evening exceedingly.

"The settlement at the south-east corner of Norfolk Island contains eighteen or twenty houses of brick, with verandahs, nice gardens and paddocks, and plenty of good grass for cows and sheep; there is, besides, a large building, formerly the barracks. The men are darker than Italians, as dark as some of the lighter-colored Maories occasionally, but no shade of black—it is more of the bright copper color. The women are scarcely distinguishable from English women, and most of the young women are nice-looking. They seem to marry early—about twenty years of age for the men, and eighteen for the women—and there are but eight or nine surnames in the island. They seem a fine healthy race of people in all respects. The men wear shirts, serge jerseys, and a sailor costume in general, many without shoes or socks; the women are chiefly dressed in loose kind of robes, all modest and quiet, but without any appearance of fear—just the kind of simple easy manners you would expect. The village is very pretty, but they find it cold after Pitcairn's Isle. Norfolk Island pines, geraniums, other flowers, and semi-tropical plants grow around the houses, and behind them the ground ascends sharply to a height of about one hundred feet, the whole island undulating ground, and full of valleys, gulleys, etc. Mr. Nobbs gave me two nails made by the Pitcairners out of an iron bolt from the Bounty. I gave them an eighty-pound chest of tea, which cost only ninety shillings in Sydney, and the best tea procurable there.

"They all have the dress of poor people, with the feelings of those gentle-born and nurtured. Two of John Adams's daughters, the oldest people on the island, are really magnificent women, like queens—old Hannah with long black hair flowing almost to her waist, though sixty-five years old. John Adams gave me a hymn for Good-Friday, composed and written by his grandfather, John Adams, the mutineer; an interesting relic."

Mrs. Selwyn remained in the island while the bishop and his chaplain pursued their missionary labors. She makes the following interesting observations with regard to the people among whom she sojourned:

"It was settled the next day—upon the people seconding the proposal that I should remain with a warm invitation — that I was to be left, while the Southern Cross goes on to Melanesia into the hot latitudes. A special object was the preparation of the young people under Mr. Nobbs's direction for confirmation, besides the daily school, which was soon to be recommenced. Other ways of usefulness were before any one who should be competent to put the women in the way of using all their novelties, and to bring them on in orderly household ways, which tell so much upon the character of a community. A methodical housewife, learned in all matters of domestic economy, would be invaluable to the women at this fresh start, but I hardly felt equal to the occasion. However, so it was to be, and the Southern Cross was to sail upon the morrow. The bishop walked over the island then, with some others, but all in seven-leagued boots, which prevented my joining them, and admiring with them the pretty little island, with its wonderful vegetation. There is no great variety of wood; the pine is universal, and rather wearisome when unmixed with other trees. Lemons also are in abundance, and in the valleys the tree-fern adds much to the beauty of the scenery."*

"When the Pitcairners first came to Norfolk Island they were received by a select body of the former staff, who had been left in charge of the property, and partly to instruct the new-comers in the use of it. A flock of sheep, a herd of cattle, ploughs, teams, and carts were made over to them accordingly. Each selected his pursuit. Some took to the sheep, some to butchering, some to farming, some to the dairy. Gardening was not in-

* "Island Mission," p. 100. Extract from the "Melanesian Mission."

cluded, and as they do not seem to have notions themselves beyond a yam plantation or a potato ground (how should they?), the gardens, formerly the glory of this island, began to look most deplorable. As yet, however, they hardly look at home in their new abodes, and perhaps, being an out-of-door generation, and not very sensitive about appearances, they never will. The houses are detached, nearly all of stone; the vestibule opens into four dark and nearly empty rooms, whose chief furniture is neat beds covered with tappa, and the store of children who sleep in the same. Every one, young and old, gives you a peculiarly pleasant greeting if he meets you, and the heartiest welcome into the house. Towards evening the preparation for the great evening meal is going on—a serious affair, for they have but two in the day, and at this more beef is consumed than a laboring man in Devonshire sees in his house from year's end to year's end. Still, the elderly people are to be pitied a little in the change they have made—the women especially; they miss their almost tropical sun, they long for yams, and do not like beef; moreover, they can not hear one another in the lofty rooms, and they miss the concentration of their society which they enjoyed at Pitcairn. There are only eight surnames among them — five of the Bounty stock and three new-comers. The whole of the original set of course are dead, but eight of the second generation remain, and more than one hundred and ninety souls besides.

"There are about forty-four children at the school, and a considerable fry at home, too young to come. The nomenclature gradually increases in splendor from the Dollys and Dinahs of early days up to the Lorenzos and Alfonzos, Evangelines and Victorias of the present time. But truly, while the Quintals and Christians are so numerous, it is well to have a distinguishing pendant in the first name, and from their numerous intermarriages they all seem to be in a state of relationship which it is beyond a stranger to disentangle. The families are so large that they may soon outgrow this island also, and if they con-

tinue to carry on their former plan of subdividing property among all, the portions will soon be no bigger than a pinch of snuff apiece.

"It is observable that no one, to prove perhaps their Tahitian descent, pronounces the letter 's' at the end of a word if it can be avoided; but this is balanced by a vigorous demonstration of their English in their saying 'mischievious' and 'substract' as naturally and pleasantly as any children at a national school. No children can be more pleasing than these, in that they often have but one garment, and are barefoot, and sit upon their heels. They so often remind me of the Maories, that it is a continual surprise to find them so ready to answer and so respectful. But then they have advantages unknown to our poor little natives; for they are trained to be obedient, and are corrected when they do wrong, and are kept in subjection to their elders. They are chiefly pale, dark-eyed little mortals, though some have more of the English type about them. The women wear generally a dark-colored petticoat, and on that a short loose frock gathered into a band round the throat, and usually white; their glossy hair is always neat, braided in front, and made up into a peculiar knot of their own invention behind. On Sundays several nice gowns are to be seen, and a small sprinkling of bonnets. They looked so much nicer without any thing, or with the white handkerchief they otherwise wear, that as the fashionable world seems to be fast learning to do without bonnets, it is a pity that the Pitcairners should now take to them to their own disadvantage."

Bishop Selwyn shortly afterwards returned to the island, and held a confirmation. The following extracts from the diary of Mr. Nobbs relate this important event in the religious history of the Pitcairners:

"*Thursday, September 4th*, 1856.—At 3 P.M. a sail was announced off the Cascades. Towards evening she was ascertained to be a schooner. No doubt the *vera* Southern Cross.

"*Friday*, 5*th*. — The schooner off the settlement, with the flag of peace flying at the main. One of our canoes went on board. It being somewhat rough, the schooner went round to the Cascades, where the bishop landed.

"*Saturday*, 6*th*.—Weather calm and clear. Arranged the community in classes, preparatory to the bishop's examining them, which he is busily engaged upon.

"*Sunday*, 7*th*.—This has been a red-letter day, and may, I think, be justly termed a high day, in which the Christian Passover, and confirmatory admission into the Christian Church, have been observed with a sincerity of purpose and a degree of devotional feeling similar to that of the Israelite of old, when he came before the Lord to perform the vital and significant obligation which the God of his fathers had commanded him. There was, however, the vast difference between the divinely appointed and prospective ceremonies and our equally divine and completed institution. Theirs were the shadow of good things to come, ours are the invigorating memories of Him to whom all the prophets bore witness—the Lamb of God slain from the foundation of the world.

"All yesterday and the previous evening the bishop had been engaged in the examination of the catechumens, formed into nine classes; and finding them competent to the wise and consistent requirements of the Church, his lordship determined to perform the scriptural rite of confirmation this afternoon. The morning service commenced at the usual time, myself officiating. At the conclusion of the second lesson the bishop administered the Sacrament of Baptism to the infant child of John Adams the second. What would have been the feelings of John Adams the first, could he have seen this day!

"The sermon concluded, the holy eucharist (it being the first Sunday in the month) was administered to sixty communicants, the bishop presenting the bread, myself the wine. After the departure of the congregation, the bishop, Mr. Patteson, and myself, with old Arthur Quintal, were for some time employed in placing stools in front of the

chancel, for the accommodation of those about to be confirmed. At half past three the afternoon service commenced. The candidates were first called by name, and arranged on the before-mentioned stools, the women on the right hand range or tier, the men on the left. It was, in truth, not only an impressive but pleasing scene. The men were arranged in good black or blue coats, with white pantaloons, and shoes and stockings. The women wore loose white frocks or tunics, and instead of bonnets, which many do wear on a Sunday, was substituted a snowy white handkerchief doubled triangularly, without any attempt at adornment, simply placed on the head, and tied with a half knot under the chin. The costume associated well with the occasion, and the subdued demeanor of the whole congregation was in excellent keeping with the sober light from the church windows, that by a process of some sort had been formerly rendered semi-opaque, in order that certain classes of the convict congregations might not, by signs or otherwise, correspond with their partners in iniquity, who were under solitary discipline in the adjoining prison-yard. Well, I repeat it was a most interesting sight, and one which I had often desired, but never expected, to see fulfilled. The women, arranged in rows in their white habiliments, looked like nuns, but I was well aware that went no farther than the outward appearance; they were also as barefooted as Carmelites, not from any superstitious *penchant*, but merely because they had no shoes. Every thing being placed in order by the good bishop, the evening service was read by the Rev. Mr. Patteson. After another excellent sermon by his lordship, illustrating the duties of Christian professors, the confirmation began by ten persons standing up in parallel rows of five each, without stepping from the place where they had been seated, when, having listened attentively to the preface and questions put by the bishop, they, with becoming earnestness, severally answered, 'I do.' By a motion of the bishop's hand they resumed their seats, and ten others rose, and so on in like order until all had been questioned

and responded. They then in similar order came up to the front of the altar, and, kneeling, received the imposition of hands. I am sure it would have gratified our many friends could they have been present, and seen parents kneeling by the side of their children. Many of these were also parents, and in one instance a great-grandmother was accompanied by grand-daughters, three of whom had families of their own; the fourth was unmarried, it having pleased God to summon hence the young man to whom she had been affianced. Yes, I am sure our Christian friends would have experienced unmitigated pleasure to have seen the aged and the young renewing and ratifying their Christian obligations in the name of the Lord, from whom cometh our help. Before the conclusion it became nearly dark in the church, and the bishop was obliged to repair to the outer door in order to distinguish the names of the persons on the certificates of confirmation. The bishop himself delivered them, first taking each person by the hand, and, using the Christian name of each, asked God's blessing on them; and then the members of the various families returned to their respective homes well pleased and edified."

CHAPTER VII.

Correspondence of Rev. G. H. Nobbs with Admiral Sir Fairfax Moresby, K.C.B., relative to Norfolk Island and the Whale-fishery.—Visit of His Excellency Sir William Denison.—His Opinion of the Pitcairn People.—Directions relative to Live-stock, and the Cultivation of Land. —Letter from Jane Nobbs.—Visit of Sir John Young.—Bishop Patteson attacked by the Natives of Santa Cruz.—Massacre of Fisher Young and Edwin Nobbs.

We must make some observations previous to inserting a letter from Mr. Nobbs, at the date of which the Pitcairn Islanders had been located one year and a half on Norfolk Island.

Although the pastor and his family appreciated, on the whole, the advantages they enjoyed by the change, others felt differently, and especially two families of the name of Young. They were probably more delicate in constitution than the rest of their friends and relatives; the climate did not suit them, and the new system of diet was prejudicial to their health. They missed bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, the milk of which was essential for their children as well as themselves. The unaccustomed labor of keeping roads and large houses in order was to them intolerable. They drooped in spirits, and their strength declined; in fact, they pined for their native island.

Though Mr. Nobbs and his family were determined to be contented in their new state of life, he could not prevail on the two families which we have mentioned to take the same view of their position, and therefore commences the following letter with some asperity:

To Admiral Sir Fairfax Moresby,* K.C.B., *and* Lady Moresby.

"Norfolk Island, January 1st, 1858.

"Some simpletons are meditating a return to Pitcairn. It must be admitted that Norfolk Island does not, according to our experience, deserve the unqualified encomiums so lavishly bestowed upon it by transient visitors or unreflecting officials, who, surveying the trim grass-plots before each house, occasionally by permission taking a stroll in the two Government gardens, and drawing their rations from an imported commissariat, would be likely to overlook the immense labor by which the lawns and gardens were kept in existence during the summer months; and, moreover, that three crops out of every five of Indian corn fail from insects and drought, although attended by almost as many men as there are acres planted. This, then, is the true statement of the case. Norfolk Island is most fertile when irrigated, but from the paucity of running water and the infrequency of rain many promising crops become abortive. Nevertheless it is quite possible to live here very comfortably, and I and my married children have let go our best bowers with a long scope, and having plenty of room to swing clear of our neighbor's buoys, are busily employed in making ourselves at home. The prospect is vastly better than at Pitcairn, but even were it not so, a principle of gratitude would retain me and mine. My son Francis and some of the more intelligent of the community are employed in laying out the lands into fifty-acre lots, agreeably to the directions of Sir William Denison, who is very much interested in our welfare, and is, I believe, going to send a surveyor to inspect the divisions and confirm the allotments (one to each family) in fee simple. The unappropriated portion of the island is to be specially reserved for the rising generation; and a rapidly rising one it is, for there is an increase of fifteen during the past year."

* Since created Admiral of the Fleet.

Extract from another letter of Mr. Nobbs's, dated November 1st, 1858, giving an account of the whale-fishing, and also of the drought to which Norfolk Island is subject:

"Some of the seeds you so kindly sent me I planted during the winter season, and they are growing very well; the Savoys are superb, and the Brussels sprouts are excellent. The sea-kale and the asparagus have not thriven so well. The other seeds I have reserved for planting as soon as I obtain my allotment. I want them to remain permanently where I place them, as I am not sure they will bear transplanting. When I enter upon my possession I am going to take the liberty of calling it Killerton, and by that name shall have it inserted in the map of the island, and by that name bequeath it to my children. Our people are now busily engaged in killing hump-back whales, and have succeeded in securing one hundred and twenty barrels of oil; but it is somewhat dangerous work. Whether it will be remunerative remains to be shown. If they can by some such course of industry procure the means to purchase flour or biscuits for half the year we shall do very well. For though our agricultural pursuits are not all neglected, the long-continued droughts of summer are a sad drawback upon our crops. At this present moment the Indian corn, sweet-potatoes, and whatever else we have in the ground, is suffering from drought, and if rain does not fall soon we shall lose the whole crop; even now we are on short allowance of vegetable food, and were it not for some flour and biscuit the Bishop of New Zealand purchased, with the proceeds of a quantity of young pine-trees which he kindly took thither for us, we should be in poor case as to the result of our own exertions. But our covenant God, who is ever a very present help in time of trouble, will be our refuge and strength; therefore we will not fear."

November of the same year, 1858, two families of the name of Young returned to Pitcairn in a trading-vessel

INTERIOR OF NORFOLK ISLAND.

which they hired for that purpose. In a letter from Mr. Nobbs, dated March 25th, 1859, he says:

"At present there is no prospect of any others returning. But I believe if the next whaling-season be successful several families will engage some small craft or other to convey them to Pitcairn. I and mine will remain, if it pleases God, and do all I can to induce others to follow my example. So well are my determinations known, that no one can speak to me about going back, and I am glad to say a few families are encouraged in their desire to remain from the decided step I have taken.

"The land is a goodly land, and needs nothing but a contented mind, a persevering spirit, and a grateful heart, to render it productive and pleasant."

The next communication is from His Excellency Sir William Denison, Governor-general of New South Wales, in which jurisdiction Norfolk Island is included. It was written on his voyage back to Sydney, and in it he relates the settlement on the island of a school-master; describes the profits of the whale-fishery; and deems it indispensable that the funds arising from this and other sources should be placed in more competent hands than those of the magistrate, who was too liable to be imposed on by the traders who touched at the island.

"H.M.S. Cordelia, July 7th, 1859.

"My dear Admiral,—I told you in my last letter what I was about to do with the men sent out to me for Norfolk Island. I must now give you some account of the state of the island itself, from which I am now returning.

"I embarked on board the Cordelia on the 16th of June, and had a rough passage of eight days to the island. I had dispatched a schooner with the new settlers on the 13th, and found that they had arrived but one day before me. They had been kindly welcomed by the people, most of whom were busily engaged in shipping their oil

on board the schooner which I had chartered. I found that the great proportion of the people were well satisfied with their position and prospects. Thirty-three of the men had associated themselves, and by clubbing their means had purchased two boats and whaling gear from an American whaler. They had then gone energetically into the business of bay whaling, and had killed whales enough to furnish fourteen tons of oil, which at present prices may be worth nearly five hundred pounds. This success has given them a stimulus, and they have now four boats and the necessary gear; are looking anxiously for the approach of the whales, and expect to reap a good harvest from them this year. I have warned them that they must not expect to be so successful hereafter, for that the whales will, as is the case on the coast of Australia and Van Diemen's Land, desert a spot where they are constantly chased; but I am very glad that they have been stimulated to active exertion, for the energy which takes them after the whales will, when these are gone, find some field for its exertion on the island itself. Some have already commenced to manufacture drip-stones, which sell well in the adjacent colonies; some have commenced the manufacture of soap; others are looking forward to a profitable trade with New Zealand in oranges and lemons; in fact, as regards the men, I am satisfied with their progress. I wish I could say the same with regard to the women; they, with one or two exceptions, do not appear to me nearly so civilized as the men. They approach nearer the Tahitian type; and, as we must look to the women to give the first tone to the children, I should wish to see a great improvement in manner, appearance, and information. I trust, however, that Mr. Rossiter's presence will do a great deal for them. Hitherto the school has been but a trifling advantage, but now that Mr. Rossiter has taken it in hand I have a right to expect a great change for the better. I have arranged with him to take three pupil teachers, to whom he is to give an extra hour's instruction daily. He is to make the school to a certain extent industrial, to give

the children a garden as a reward for industry, and to bestow prizes, not for the purpose of exciting emulation but as a reward to all who do their work well. The pupil-teachers at the end of four years will, if they behave well, have some useful gift made to them, such as a cow or calf. The girls will have instruction in needle-work, etc., as I propose to pay out of the school fees the salary of a schoolmistress, who will attend in the afternoon for a couple of hours, and who will be aided by Mrs. Rossiter and her sisters.

"I found that two families had gone back to Pitcairn Island, and I heard that three more were contemplating a similar move. At a general meeting of the people I spoke strongly to them, pointing out to them the folly, nay the sin, which they were committing in throwing aside for themselves as well as for their children the means of living which had been provided for them, and I warned them that I should not in any way countenance or assist them in removing; that I should put a condition of residence in the grant of land which I was prepared to make to them, and should prohibit any alienation of this land to any but inhabitants of the island. I felt the more bound to do this as I found that the magistrates and Mr. Nobbs had, in the case of the people who had left, been weak enough to agree to pay to the captain of a schooner *a sum of six hundred pounds, as the passage-money of sixty adults to Pitcairn*, and had given him bills for three hundred pounds on their agent at Sydney, which he claimed when only sixteen went down instead of sixty. This money, I may observe, was the value of the wool and hides sold, and was the property of the Government. I have now taken the administration of the public funds out of the hands of the magistrates, and given it to the storekeeper, who is only to act, as far as regards drawing bills upon the wool, etc., by my directions.

"The island is now marked off in fifty-acre allotments, and I propose to send down the deeds of grant when I have settled the form and conditions, and arranged a sim-

ple system of registration, and forms of sale, mortgage, etc. I looked out for a place where it might be possible to haul up a small schooner of say fifty to seventy tons, and I think we might manage this without much difficulty in a bay to the east of the island. Until the inhabitants can secure some regular means of communication with the adjacent colonies, their progress will be slow.

"I look forward to the time when Norfolk Island will become the St. Michael's of New Zealand, Tasmania, and Melbourne. Lemons are indigenous, and form the best stock upon which the orange can be grafted. I have sent down several of the best descriptions of orange, and shall supply them with shaddock and other fruits of the same kind. Mr. Rossiter is, I am glad to find, a good gardener.

"I am writing under the disadvantage of being just above the screw; but I would not postpone my letter till my return to Sydney, as I shall probably have much to do, and to write before the departure of the mail. Believe me, yours very truly, W. Denison.

"I have given Mr. Nobbs fifty pounds per annum out of the revenue of the island, in addition to the fifty pounds which he receives from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He is fairly entitled to this, and I trust the Secretary of State will sanction the payment."

In a former letter to Admiral Moresby, Sir William observes: "Your son has taken many photographic likenesses of the people. When I saw them together at a public meeting I was struck with their general appearance, and gave them credit for being a fine race. There are not many instances of *beauty*, but many of good looks, and the shape of the head is good in nearly all. He has furnished me with some specimens of his work, which I am going to send to England. He was in great request at Norfolk Island."

Extract of a letter from Mr. Nobbs, which gives an in-

teresting account of the occurrences at Norfolk Island for the year 1859:

"Norfolk Island, October 10th, 1859.

"The affairs of last year, although my letters did not arrive, will, I presume, have been communicated to you by our beloved Fortescue, whom I have endeavored to keep *au fait* in Norfolk Island matters. Our people succeeded in taking one hundred and twenty barrels of oil last year, one hundred of which was sent to Sydney, and realized two hundred and forty pounds. This money has just been sent down to us, but will not much more than cover the expense of the getting and fitting out of last season, and the cost of new boats, lines, casks, etc., for the establishment on a larger scale this year. We have now four boats well equipped, and which require twenty-four men to work them. The whaling-season is just now commencing. Last week they killed three large cow-whales, but they sank immediately (a common case), and we feared they were totally lost; however, we have had a sharp look-out on the hill, and at this very moment the news has come over from the Cascades, and now the boats are off, one of them having risen to the surface. She will be towed in, being some five miles distance from the land. I suspect the sharks have been banqueting. We have now some hope of recovering the others; a day or two will decide. In the *melée* last week we had one boat smashed, but the boat's crew would not cut from the whale, although there was a hole in the fore-part of the boat big enough for a man to go through. They all went aft into the stern sheets, and, spite of the kicking and fighting of the whale, held on till the other boats came to their assistance, which was scarcely done when the broken boat, being full of water, rolled over bottom up. In that boat I had three sons and two sons-in-law. I remonstrated with these for their rashness, but they seemed to think there was no very great danger.

"In the month of December last, two families numbering sixteen persons, four only of whom were over fifteen

years of age, returned to Pitcairn, and we have not yet heard any thing concerning them. Two or three other families seem determined to go if an opportunity offers; and since they show such dogged and willful ingratitude, I have left off dissuading them. I and mine will remain, if it please God, most grateful that we have so goodly an heritage. The season has been very favorable, and we have plenty of Indian corn and sweet-potatoes, with fish, milk, and butter. Irish potatoes will not thrive; would they do so, whale-ships would supply us with almost every thing we needed. Flour we must also import.

"There has been very little sickness amongst the community; the most are becoming contented, and, consequently, comfortable. Mr. Rossiter is, I think, just such a man as was needed, industrious in school and out, and very unassuming. The miller and mason are cultivating their allotments. They have not yet commenced working at their respective callings, but I presume they will soon.

"H.M.S. Niger was here two weeks ago, bringing a large quantity of articles purchased by Sir William Denison for opening a store under the direction of Mr. Rossiter, who is to charge ten per cent. on the prime cost of the articles to cover contingencies. Could Lady Moresby have seen the opening day, she would have been both amused and gratified. The only expensive thing is flour, which at the present time is very dear at Sydney. Sir William has taken the control of the sheep into his own hands; the wool is to be sent to Sydney for the benefit of the community, the proceeds therefrom being placed in the bank with the consent of the governor, whose signature must be affixed to the drafts. This is to prevent Her Majesty's royal bounty being perverted to uses for which it never was designed, and right glad am I that Sir William Denison has been pleased to use such a wise precaution. From this fund His Excellency allows me fifty pounds a year, which, though an unexpected, is a welcome addition to my stipend from the S.P.G. I can, by sailing close to the wind, make fifty pounds a year suffice—with a

NAOMI NOBBS. JANE NOBBS.

trifle that comes to my share from trading with whalers (which, of course, my sons transact for me)—for clothing and other articles of importation for my family, which consists of fifteen persons actually residing under my roof; and I have written to Mr. Arthur Mills, who most kindly invited me to do so, to know whether, should my health be spared for a few years longer, my stipend from the S.P.G. would suffice to purchase an annuity for the time when life shall become a burden. My sixtieth year will be completed on the 16th of this month, and, of course, in a few years, humanly speaking, I shall be laid up on the shelf, and the last move I desire to make on life's checkered board is to obtain an annuity of fifty pounds for the days of helpless senility. As I suppose my stipend from the society will cease with my services, and that portion I am to receive from the wool will, of course, go to my successor, I shall be without resources, and I have an Englishman's horror of dependence. . . . .

"A certain Mr. King, the commander of a whale-ship out of Sydney, has proposed for Jane, and she, with the consent of her mother and myself, is inclined to accept him. I know nothing of the young man, beyond his occasional visits of a few days when touching here for supplies. I wrote to Forty,* requesting him to make inquiries, which he promptly did. The result of which was, that King, when second mate and mate, had been a wild chap, but since he had become *master* he had conducted himself very satisfactorily. We expect him here next December, when, if he has been successful, he will return to Sydney; and the owners have promised to give him a better ship than the one he now commands. He will probably return in March or April next, when, I suppose, if nothing transpires to the disadvantage of the young man, the wedding will take place. Now, as Jane's dearest and best of friends, you will anxiously inquire, why does not the silly girl marry one of her own people?

* Fortescue Moresby, son and secretary of the admiral.

Well, the reasons are not very reconcilable, and may be answered very briefly. In the first place, there are but two men near Jane's age unmarried. One of these is of deficient intellect, and the other is of so taciturn a disposition that he would scarcely speak for months, if not spoken to; in fact, no girl ever expects Robert Buffs to make them an offer. Jane is now twenty-three years of age, and any of the lads four or five years younger than herself would be rejected with contempt. I suppose, if she don't marry an Englishman or an American—and she has had offers from both—she will remain single. The matter is a source of anxiety both to my good wife and myself, and Forty seems quite averse to the match. However, I will use all prudence, with a prayerful attention to my duty as a parent, and will then leave the result to Him who has graciously said, 'I will pour my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring.'"

Letter from His Excellency Sir William Denison to Rear-admiral Moresby, relating to the management of the island resources:

"Government-house, December 28th, 1859.

"The step which I have taken of placing the sheep, etc., which belong to the Government in the hands of the storekeeper, and only allowing him to kill a certain number, whose carcasses he is to *sell* and account for, will, by compelling the people to work, in order to get money to purchase, stimulate their industry.

"You must not expect too much from these people; they are uneducated, and, though simple and kind-hearted, have exactly the same passions and feelings as other men.

"Temptation has been kept from them, but should it come upon them, their very ignorance will make it more difficult for them to resist it. All that we can do is to strengthen their intellects, while at the same time we give them good and sound principles to guide them. They will then be in a position to fight against the temptations

to which they must necessarily be exposed. The question of a successor to Nobbs will be a difficult one; the inducement which we can offer is but small—a house, some land, fifty pounds per annum from the Island Fund, and perhaps fifty pounds from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. I confess, however, that I should gladly see a tithe imposed on the inhabitants, or rather such a tax as would not press unfairly on the industrious, the proceeds of which would be applied to the support of the clergyman and school-master. We must wait for this, however.

"Believe me, yours very truly, W. Denison."

Sir William Denison speaks in another place* of the Pitcairn people in the following terms: "The opinion I formed at first of their kindness and amiability I am, on further acquaintance, quite willing to confirm, and to attribute it to something better than a mere kindliness of disposition—in fact, to the operation of religion on their hearts. Then the apathy and listlessness which I was disposed at first to impute to a positive disinclination to work, I now believe to be the result of ignorance, and of the absence of sufficient inducement to labor. Their only object now is to obtain a supply of food for themselves and their families, and when their potatoes are hoed, *they feel they have* nothing else to do. I asked myself whether, if I had all that I could wish for, without any effort on my part, I should work for the mere love of *work*, and I was obliged to reply that I should not; this has hitherto been the case with these poor people.

"The gift of land in fee-simple, the obligation of fencing it, the necessity of finding the means of purchasing much which they hitherto have received gratuitously, will give rise to new wants, and offer numerous motives for exertion."

* "Varieties of Vice-regal Life," p. 414.

One of Mr. Nobbs's younger sons having gone to Sydney to study gardening, Sir William Denison very kindly placed him for instruction under the head-gardener at Government-house, Sydney. In a letter to Mr. Nobbs, Sir William gives the following excellent advice:

"When your boy comes back to you, I think he will be qualified to take charge of your garden, and the most profitable use you can make of some ten or twelve acres of your land will be to plant oranges. You may be sure that in the course of a few years the demand for this fruit in New Zealand will increase very much, and vessels will run up to you from Auckland and elsewhere to take back a cargo of fruit. It will take some ten years or so for the oranges to produce a full crop, but at the end of that time you may reckon upon a return of 30,000 dozen from ten acres of land. I should recommend others to follow your example, as there will be an ample demand in Victoria and Tasmania for as many as you can grow. The ground must be carefully prepared, must be trenched two feet deep, and should be well manured with animal refuse every fourth or fifth year. The stuff from the boiling down of *your* whale-blubber will answer admirably. By-the-by, I hope that you will be wise enough to reserve not only the refuse from the try-pots, but the whole carcass of the whales for manure."

Extract from a letter of the Rev. G. H. Nobbs to Mr. Fortescue Moresby:

"Norfolk Island, July, 1860.

". . . . Poor Frederick is in great distress from a dreadful accident by which he lost his eldest son on the 2d of May. A little before sunset on that day, the lad (a boy of ten years) went to bring in his father's horse, and took with him a stout line, some five fathoms long, for tethering the animal during the night, as Frederick needed the horse to go to the Cascades on the following morning. At dusk the lad was observed galloping by the slaughter-

house, and was never seen again alive. His parents becoming anxious about their child, went from house to house making inquiries, but could hear nothing of him; they called also at the singing-school, it being Wednesday evening, but could obtain no further intelligence than that mentioned above. Alarm being now created, most of the community went in search. At length Frederick and his wife, with two or three others, discovered the horse quietly grazing near 'Emily Bay.' One end of the rope which the boy had taken with him, and probably coiled above his shoulders and under his arm for convenience, was attached to the horse's neck, and, sad to relate, the other end was twined round the body and neck of their poor child. Life was extinct, and had been so for some hours, it being ten o'clock when the body was found. He no doubt died from strangulation, though there were two fractures of the skull, either of which would have caused death. It was a dreadful sight, especially for poor Frederick and his wife, who were the first to make the awful discovery. The circumstance has thrown a gloom over the whole of the community.

"I think I mentioned in my last the hasty and unexpected departure of the stone-mason; and I learn from our people the miller intends following him, though he will leave his wife and children here for the present, as he has not the means of paying their passage hence. It is not probable any mechanic who can do better will remain in so isolated a spot as this, without any probability of rendering their labor remunerative beyond the acquirement of a bare subsistence. There is no possibility of making money. The community have none; what little they had has been laid out, and I think beneficially so, in Mr. Rossiter's store, and the prospect of obtaining more is very doubtful. We have plenty of sweet-potatoes for sale, but ships do not want them; we have beef also, but whenever a whaler purchases any, he demurs about paying in cash, and frequently declines it altogether if trade of some kind is not taken in exchange, and even then the quantities of

meat required are so small, that the returns among the community amount to but a trifle indeed. Believe me, I do not speak in a complaining manner. I have no reason to do so, for we are much better off than at Pitcairn, and neither I nor mine would return on any account; but strangers can not assimilate with us, and of course express themselves greatly disappointed in their expectations, and I dare say they really are so.

"Mr. Rossiter is very attentive to the school, but I do not yet see there is practically any improvement upon the old *régime*—what may be hereafter is hard to say. I presume I have been the most benefited by Mr. Rossiter's advent, in being relieved from the cares and responsibilities of teaching, which were ever a source of intense anxiety to me, and told heavily on my constitution. If Mr. Rossiter has as good a salary as report says he has, of course he will remain as long as his appointment lasts; to what length that may extend I know not. He is very attentive, and regular in attendance at the school, and sets a good example of industry in his own affairs at other times; but there is a brusqueness in his general deportment, which prevents his being generally liked by the community. I am not complaining of Mr. Rossiter; he is very respectful to myself, and we are on the best of terms, as far as our intercourse with each other extends, and will, I have no doubt, continue so; but many of our people think he is placed here for some latent purpose by the Government or the governor, and are therefore prejudiced in their opinions. I sometimes fear, but I hope better things, that several families will return to Pitcairn, if they can obtain a passage.

"Well, now, my dear Forty, I must conclude this digressive epistle, by asking you to offer my respects to Commodore Loring, your worthy shipmates, and to any one else who may care to inquire after the welfare of yours most sincerely and gratefully, GEORGE H. NOBBS."

Extract from a letter from Mr. Nobbs's daughter Jane

to Admiral Moresby, in which she alludes to her mother's declining health:

"Norfolk Island, March 13th, 1861.

"Our beloved mother, who is now getting quite old, is not at all well of late. She does not get very weak, but is hardly able to do any thing without being very ill. I have a good deal of work to do at all times, but I always try to bear in mind what the holy Apostle says, 'In whatsoever state I am therewith to be content;' and that always cheers me in my daily labor. Sometimes I feel sorely anxious about her. If any thing should happen to her, I don't know what I should do, for I often think I can not live without her; but still a voice would say, 'It is the Lord, let Him do what seemeth Him good.' Sometimes I have Dorcas Young to help me. She has become such a good, kind-hearted woman that she is every one's favorite.

"If strangers come to Norfolk Island, and at any time want help, they would even send for her to assist them before any one else. Mrs. Rossiter often sends for her to help, if they have any thing to do more than they can do themselves. She lives in the next house to ours with her sister Miriam Christian. She is my best friend among the girls, and I would not lose her friendship for any thing the world can offer me.

"We very, very often talk of you, the old Portland, and Pitcairn. I am very much obliged to you, my worthy friend, for the kind remembrance in father's letter, but I humbly ask you not to think that any uncertainty of getting married will prevent my writing to you — one to whom I owe so much remembrance and gratitude. As to that affair, I leave it entirely to the will of the All-wise Providence; if it should be His will that we should get married, I trust He will bless us; but if otherwise, then, 'His will be done' also; but I assure you I love him sincerely."

In the following letter from Mr. Nobbs to his kind friends in England, Mr. and Mrs. White, the daughter and

son-in-law of Admiral Sir Fairfax Moresby, K.C.B., he mentions the recent arrival of His Excellency Sir John Young, successor of Sir William Denison as Governor-general of New South Wales:

"Norfolk Island, February 26th, 1862.

"My dear Friends,—May the peace of God, which bringeth salvation, be to and upon yourselves, and all whom you love. It is nearly a decade of years since I partook of the domestic hospitalities of so many friends in England, and yours beloved neither the last nor the least. The recollections of such unqualified kindness have not at all faded from my memory: but very few of those who accorded me the right hand of Christian sympathy and benevolence are now in the flesh. With the exception of Sir Fairfax, Sir Thomas Acland, Mrs. Prevost, and yourselves, all, or nearly all, have been summoned from time into eternity. Well, in all probability, ere another decade, the two first of these, my well-beloved friends, and myself, will have passed the 'bourne,' and shall know, even as we are known. Oh! that in passing the stream we may be enabled to say with Hopeful, 'I feel the bottom, and it is good!' May our token be 'the arrow with a point sharpened with love!' Some of the tokens manifested to Christian's friends are beginning to display themselves on my bodily frame; may other admonitions be as cheerfully attended to, and the preparation made with corresponding alacrity; and may I be enabled to exclaim, 'Grace reigns!'

"I have not heard from you for a long time, but I received some months since very tangible evidence that you remembered us, in deeds, if not in words. . . . If it should please yourselves or your Christian friends to contribute further to the comfort of other members of the community and myself and families, please to put inside the box a few lines, so that should a letter miscarry, we may not be at a loss to attribute the favor to those who have a just claim to our gratitude.

"None of our elder people have died since our abode here, and we have not nearly as much sickness here as at Pitcairn. Nearly six years have elapsed, and there have been but thirteen deaths (four of them accidental; nearly all the others very young children) to eighty-six births, so that you see, my dear friends, 'tis not at Grantham only that population rapidly increases. Jane was married a few months since to her cousin John Quintal. I have now six children married, and, of course, grandchildren are rapidly increasing in number. My dear wife suffers very much at times from what I fear is a disease of the heart. She sends her Christian regards to yourselves and your olive-branches. I should like to meet them all around your hospitable board, but as that may not be, I and mine will remember them when we assemble round the footstool of grace and mercy.

"With fervent aspirations that you may be saved with an everlasting salvation, I am, dear Robert and Mary White, yours in Christian verity,

"GEORGE H. NOBBS.

"*April 6th.*—I open this to say Sir John Young arrived yesterday, and will leave on Sunday. All in a bustle, not the least myself, attending His Excellency and preparing a sermon. I will write to the admiral soon."

We shall here digress a little from the history of the Pitcairn colony to relate a sad misfortune which befell two of their most promising young men.

In the year 1860, Bishop Selwyn, considering that the diocese of New Zealand was too extensive, and the duties in consequence too onerous, represented to the Government the advantage of separating the Melanesian Islands and forming them into a bishopric. He also recommended the Rev. Mr. Patteson, from his knowledge of the different languages, as the fittest person to fill the office of bishop.

The Government assented to these representations, and

the Rev. T. E. Patteson was duly consecrated "Bishop of the Western Isles," at Auckland, New Zealand, in the presence of the Bishops of New Zealand, Wellington, and Nelson.*

In a few years he was to experience the sad reality that the perils which in ancient times encompassed preachers of Christianity, and conferred on so many the bright crown of martyrdom, are not unknown at the present day among those who devote themselves to the missionary service.

In 1864, Bishop Patteson, on his voyage to the different islands in his diocese, was accompanied in the Southern Cross (the mission vessel) by Edwin Nobbs, son of the Pitcairn chaplain, a fine handsome youth of twenty-one years of age, who it was hoped would succeed eventually to his father's office, and also by Fisher Young,† who had been a great favorite with Mrs. Selwyn, when in Norfolk Island.

Two years before, Bishop Patteson, during his annual visitation, had landed at several places on the island of Santa Cruz, and had been received with kindliness by the natives. The people had the name of being some of the most treacherous of the Pacific Islanders, but Bishop Patteson had seen no sign of the justice of the accusation, and was inclined to believe that it was a fabrication concocted by people who had provoked them by injury or insult, and had then found themselves attacked. He now, however, took his usual precaution of landing alone, so that his life only should be endangered, the boat, containing Fisher Young, Edwin Nobbs, and two Englishmen, Mr. Pearce and Mr. Atkins, remaining twenty yards from the coral reef.

* "Island Mission," p. 231.

† A descendant of Edward Young, of the Bounty.

Nothing occurred while the bishop was on shore to give him any suspicion of unfriendliness; he went up to the village and sat among the people, and then returned to the boat, swimming out to it, as usual. Three or four hundred natives stood upon the coral reef, and some, as usual, swam by the side, and there kept their hands, it was observed, upon the boat, and refused to detach them, so that the bishop had some difficulty in getting rid of them. Suddenly an arrow flew by, and another, and another. The bishop had not shipped the rudder, and held it up, hoping to ward off any arrow that came straight, but on looking round, he saw Edwin Nobbs with an arrow in his chest. Suddenly Fisher Young, who was rowing, gave a faint scream as an arrow transfixed his wrist, but the brave boy still pulled on, and the bishop and Mr. Atkins sustained no injury. As soon as possible the sail was hoisted up, and with a light breeze the Southern Cross, two miles off, was reached without further harm. The arrow wounds were dressed, though it was a work of difficulty to extract them, especially poor Fisher's, and then came days of suspense and anxiety—were the arrows poisoned or not? If so, it seemed impossible that the Norfolk Island lads, who, like all Pacific Islanders, were especially subject to lock-jaw, should escape. Five days after, as Fisher was sitting with the bishop in the cabin, he said, "I can't think what makes my jaw so stiff." From that time there was no hope; the poor fellow grew worse and worse, his body rigid like a bar of iron, with fearful convulsions and spasms from time to time; but in his most terrible agony, he never lost faith and patience. Simple-minded and humble as he had always been, so he remained to the end, trusting that all things were ordered by his Heavenly Father for his good, and that the blow which thus struck him down in his early youth, while life was just opening before him, was

but opening the gate of the glorious land beyond. Several times his mind seemed to revert to the men who had killed him, and he said, "Poor Santa Cruz people! poor people!" His sufferings were mercifully ended on the Monday morning, when he passed away to his rest. Five days afterwards Edwin Nobbs was attacked by symptoms of the same terrible disease. His case appeared to take a less acute form, and for some days it was hoped that he would recover; but after lingering for some time, during which he showed the same Christian faith and steadfast endurance, he also died, and was buried at sea.

The bishop's next meeting with Edwin's and Fisher's parents was a very sad one, as may be imagined. But they felt that the cause in which their children had died was a noble one, and worth the sacrifice; and Mr. Nobbs, together with others, offered to commit to the bishop's care some more of their children to be trained by him to follow in the same career.

CHAPTER VIII.

Establishment of the Melanesian Mission College on Norfolk Island.—Letters from the Bishop of New Zealand, Sir William Denison, Sir John Young, etc., etc.

The period had now arrived when the minds of the community were agitated by important questions concerning the Melanesian mission. Bishop Selwyn's indefatigable labors had made him familiar not only with Pitcairn and Norfolk Islands, but also with nearly all the inhabited islands* which stud the expanse of the Southern Ocean. Norfolk Island had especially attracted his attention, and he demonstrated its advantages as early as the year 1853, when first the proposal was entertained of discontinuing the convict station. It appeared to him to offer unusual advantages for the establishment of an episcopal see, fulfilling the necessary conditions by forming part of Her Majesty's dominions, and at the same time occupying a central position, from which supervision might be exercised over fifty neighboring islands. His plan included a training institution, where native missionaries might be instructed in the truths of the Gospel, and whence in due time they might spread abroad to evangelize their heathen brethren. These views were explained to the Pitcairn Island Fund Committee, in the year 1854, but did not obtain their concurrence, inasmuch as it was known that they were not favorably regarded by the Pitcairn (now Norfolk Island) community. The motives of the bishop were ex-

* For an account of the islands included in the Melanesian Mission, see note, chap. vi., pp. 269, 270.

plained in a letter to Sir William Denison two years later, who, however, did not approve of the project, and it fell into abeyance for several years.

Letter of the Bishop of New Zealand to Sir William Denison.

"Sydney, 19th June, 1856.

"My dear Sir William,—Your Excellency's letter of June 16th has entirely removed from my mind the fear which I had entertained after our interview on Friday, that the civil and ecclesiastical friends of the Pitcairn Islanders, though all desiring the same end, might widely differ on the question of the plans to be adopted for their benefit. I am therefore encouraged to lay before you a full statement of the views and wishes of a very numerous and liberal body of friends to the Pitcairn Islanders, who are desirous, in a thankful sense of the merciful Providence which has caused this branch of holiness to spring out of a root of sin, to enable them, by the aid of the same overruling power, to make Norfolk Island, once too truly called by Judge Burton 'a hell upon earth,' the fountain of Christian knowledge to the islands of the Western Pacific.

"Your Excellency, I believe, agreed with me in opinion that the present state of primitive simplicity in which the Pitcairn Islanders are living can not be maintained in their new position in the midst of the great and wealthy colonies of Australasia, and in the track of the ships of all the great maritime nations. We therefore believe that they will need some more active salt to preserve them from corruption than the presence of their own island pastor, and the discharge of their own duties of religion. And we can not consider any work more likely to interest them than the evangelization of the heathen isles of the Western Pacific, of which it was proposed in England to make their new island the centre, and some of them, if possible, the instruments.

"It has been found in the London Mission that no other or higher prize is required to be held out to the native

students in the missionary college at Samoa than the hope that they would be appointed to spend or to lay down their lives in the Loyalty Isles, or the New Hebrides. Your Excellency's knowledge of the feelings of young officers in the army, though actuated by a far lower motive, will enable you to conceive and to accept the soundness of our reasons for believing that the best way to maintain and exalt the character of the Pitcairn Islanders would be to interest and engage them from the first in some vigorous and expansive work in the Church of Christ. With this view Sir George Grey, the late Governor of New Zealand, before his departure from his government, recommended that a portion of the island should be allotted to a central school, for the education of select scholars from the Western Islands of the Pacific.

"To this letter, addressed to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, I am not aware that any answer has been returned; but being fully convinced that a proposal so reasonable in itself, and so full of promise of good to the Pitcairn Islanders, and through them, under God, to all the other island races, would be ultimately approved by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, I collected funds while I was in England to the amount of £10,000, of which £8000 is already invested in Exchequer Bonds, for the endowment of a bishopric, the see of which should be on Norfolk Island, as the bishopries intended to act over Borneo and China have their sees respectively on the isles of Labuan and Hong Kong. It would be understood, of course, as in the case of China and Borneo, that the real work of the Bishop of Norfolk Island would have a far wider range than the limits of his island see.

"As I consider Norfolk Island to be included in my spiritual charge, by my letters patent, by its vicinity to New Zealand, and by my commission from the late Archbishop of Canterbury—except as far as for special civil reasons it may be annexed from time to time to either Sydney or Tasmania, and only for the purposes for which it is so annexed, such as the superintendence of convict chap-

lains—I shall feel it to be my duty to carry forward, in communication with and with the consent of the Pitcairn colonists, whatever plans I may believe to be necessaay to promote their spiritual welfare, and the extension of the kingdom of our blessed Lord.

"But I can assure Your Excellency that I am so well aware of the difficulty of the problem to be worked out, and of the danger of failure, that I shall proceed with the utmost caution, and shall take care above all things that no chaplain, or other person acting under me, shall hold communication with the islanders who would be likely in the least degree to cause any such dissatisfaction or dissension as has, I fear, already begun. It would be to support Mr. Nobbs against any upstart person who might set himself up as the pastor of a section of his flock, that I might feel it necessary to leave such an educated and Christian man as Mr. Patteson to allay the first beginnings of party strife. Such points as these, I respectfully submit to Your Excellency, are scarcely within the competency of civil intervention. But I am ready at once to give you the assurance that I have no wish to take any such step, but that I would very much prefer the course suggested in your letter of awaiting the issue of the first year, and then judging of the best course to be adopted for the future. I have the honor to be, etc.,

"G. A. N., *New Zealand.*"

From 1856, when the Pitcairn Islanders had removed to Norfolk Island, Bishop Selwyn had wished to have some more convenient point than Auckland as a central school for the Melanesian children, but a variety of reasons, besides the general desire for seclusion, caused the islanders to oppose the bishop's project to establish a school or college on Norfolk Island. They considered that the location in their midst of a body of semi-converted idolaters would not, even under vigilant supervision, be conducive to the public morality or social progress. Although, in

reply to a taunt in the "Sydney Herald," John Adams observed, and perhaps with justice, that he had more reason to be proud of his mother than of his father; it is certain that the Pitcairners generally felt more attachment to the white civilized race than towards their dark Tahitian cousins. The barbarous inhabitants of the surrounding islands they regarded with decided aversion. Their appearance does not seem, certainly, by the following description to have been very prepossessing:

"The bishop was pulled on shore by a boat's crew of Solomon Island natives. They had rings in their noses, and the lobes of their ears had been perforated, and the holes so widely extended that they hung down like loops of india-rubber, into which your hand might be inserted without difficulty." Mr. Nobbs observes that they nevertheless seemed tractable and obedient, but considered that their introduction might bring "febrile and dysenteric contagion."

Another objection to the proposed scheme was that the Pitcairners considered that they had an indefeasible right and title to the whole of Norfolk Island, and every thing it contained, and they feared that to admit a precedent for alienation might finally deprive their posterity of the whole of their guaranteed inheritance. They maintained that it was upon the condition of an unqualified cession that they consented to leave Pitcairn. That such a claim was not recognized would have been evident to them had they duly considered that Sir William Denison provided, with regard to the distribution of land, that it should be subject to be revised and amended by the Governor-general of New South Wales, "to whom all the arrangements had been intrusted by Her Majesty." This is shown in the following letter:

"Government-house, Sydney, May 16th, 1856.

"Sir,—With reference to that paragraph in your instructions by which you were directed to divide the land at Norfolk Island among the families of the Pitcairn Islanders, reserving only certain portions as specified for public purposes, I have *now* to direct you to do this, with the distinct provision that the arrangement of the land is subject to be revised and amended, if necessary, by the Governor-general of New South Wales, to whom all the arrangements connected with the settlement of the island have been intrusted by Her Majesty. I have, etc.,

"(Signed) W. Denison.

"Lieut. Gregorie, Norfolk Island."

In page 397 of "Varieties of Vice-regal Life," by Sir William Denison, headed 'I become an Autocrat,' we find that full powers were given to Sir William Denison. He says, "I received a copy of the orders in council vesting the government of Norfolk Island in the Governor of New South Wales for the time being, and, with this, instructions, giving to the governor not merely the usual power as head of the executive, but also those of the two Houses of Parliament in addition, power to make the laws, as well as to see to their execution."

The same governor also directed that the chief magistrate should keep him duly informed from time to time of the state and progress of the community, and on his second visit, disapproving the manner in which the cattle held in common were managed, and indignant at the extravagant terms made with the captain of the merchant vessel for the return of the families to Pitcairn, he resumed possession of all the public or "Government" stock. Such acts were significant, and should have been instructive; but although it was evident that Sir William Denison did not consider the gift of the Government unconditional and irrevocable, he had so much consideration

for the feelings of the islanders, that during his term of office he accepted their interpretation, and maintained the state grant in its unquestionable integrity. Mr. Nobbs writes, June, 1858, "It is most fortunate that Sir William Denison visited us, and that he is determined to prevent any aggressions from outsiders. His Excellency sent me a most kind letter, requesting me to write frequently and freely. I will not neglect so valuable permission." Further on he observes, "The bishop (Selwyn) has never yet asked or received one penny of subscription from us. On the contrary, he is most generous and affable, and Mrs. Selwyn also is very attentive to instruct our girls, who seem to like her very much."

On Sir John Young's succeeding to office the bishop's scheme was again brought forward, with better prospect of success. Bishop Patteson, after the severe sickness of his scholars in 1863 and 1864, felt how desirable it would be to remove them to a climate less trying to their delicate tropical constitutions than Auckland. He could have had a settlement on Curtis Island, in Queensland, Australia, the climate and situation of which was desirable; but the character of the population in Norfolk Island decided the point, and the new governor was not committed to the policy of his predecessor, which, as he observed, "was no longer advantageous, and had always been in its nature transitory." Strangers had by this time become domesticated among the original colonists, and the not unfrequent visits of whaling-vessels, with their disturbing accompaniments, rendered absolute isolation impracticable. Moreover, the Government had determined to withdraw the grant of three hundred pounds a year hitherto allowed to the school-master, and it became therefore not only desirable to set before the islanders the example of an energetic community, but absolutely necessary to raise a fund

for educational and other general purposes. Proposals based on these considerations were favorably received by the colonial secretary, and the Pitcairners themselves concurred in the scheme on receiving assurances that no further alienation of land was contemplated, and that their original seclusion and domesticity would not be invaded. It appeared, however, that in according this acquiescence, they merely understood that a grant would be made of some two hundred acres, and when it was afterwards explained to them that such a space would not be proportionate to the establishment and expenditure proposed by the bishop, their views on the subject were considerably altered. They strongly objected to a sale of one thousand acres of the land, even though the proceeds were to be invested for their benefit. They asserted that the island was incontestably their own, and had been formally made over to them in a paper of cession, read and given to their magistrate on their first arrival, by Captain Freemantle. There is much doubt and mystery with regard to this document. Were it not for the testimony of the chief magistrate and councillors, we should be inclined to consider it altogether mythical, as it can not be produced, and no copy of it is extant in the archives of the colonial office. Sir William Denison, in a letter to the author, states that he has no recollection of it, and he can not believe that so "judicious" an officer as Captain Freemantle would have made any unauthorized cession. We may add to this that in a letter written by Captain Freemantle at the time of the removal, he advises that the Government should be "urged" to refuse the admittance of other settlers. "Their lordships will observe that the islanders express a hope that they may be allowed to live on Norfolk Island in the same seclusion from the rest of the world as they have hitherto done at Pitcairn, and it is im-

possible for any one who has been an eye-witness of the exemplary conduct and the pious single-minded character of these innocent people, not to urge a compliance with a request so natural and so reasonable."

In addition to this, Mr. Toup Nicolas, Her Majesty's consul at Raiatea, had made known, two years previously, to the Pitcairn Islanders that Norfolk Island might not be ceded to them, and in a public letter he observed:

"Raiatea, July 5th, 1854.

". . . . While communicating this intelligence to you, I am at the same time to acquaint you that you will be pleased to understand that Norfolk Island can not 'be ceded' to the Pitcairn Islanders, but that grants will be made of allotments of land to the different families, and I am desired further to make known to you that it is not at present intended to allow any other class of settlers to reside or occupy land on the island."

The most probable conclusion seems to be that some formal document was read to the immigrants on their first arrival at Norfolk Island, but they did not look narrowly into its contents, and rather viewed it as interpreted by those who, from misconception or amiable motives, desired to represent their prospects in the brightest possible colors. The simple Pitcairners were not the only people who had been deluded by a State grant,* an insecure kind

* It is possible that many persons who, like the Pitcairners, did not perfectly understand the character of State grants, would have found it difficult to reconcile the tenor of the following dispatch with the directions given to Lieutenant Gregorie, to divide the whole of the island among their families, with the exception of a small definite reservation for public purposes:

SIR WILLIAM DENISON *to the* RIGHT HON. LORD J. RUSSELL.

"Government-house, Sydney, September 3d, 1855.

"It would in my opinion be advisable, at all events for the present, to prohibit all grants or sales of land to other than the race now about to in-

of title liable to be rescinded or modified at any moment, with very little consideration for the real or sentimental grievances of the sufferers. It was perhaps well for the little community that they were not more inquisitive and suspicious; for had they been so, they would probably never have consented to leave their original home. They would have decidedly refused to be made the subjects of what the Governor now admitted was "only an experiment," and however fatherly his intentions might have been, would have objected to be treated as John Adams expresses it, "like a lot of boys." Nothing, however, was now left but to succumb. Many looked back with regret to their independence at their own dear Pitcairn. Their views, as contrasted with those of Sir John Young, will be best understood by the perusal of the following letters:

Extract of a letter from Mr. Nobbs *to* Admiral Sir Fairfax Moresby, K.C.B.

"May 3d, 1858.

"I trust yourself and our other influential friends will countenance my opposing so very undesirable an addition to our social circle as a hundred or two of heathens, strong with the odor of unmitigated depravity.*

"I do not think, my honored friend, you will at all attribute this opposition to a want of sympathy for the dark places of the earth, which are full of cruelty. I will con-

habit this small island, and to hold out as little encouragement as possible to the domestication of other races, be they white or colored, among them, *until the effect of the removal of, and the altered circumstances in which they are about to be placed, can be clearly seen.*"

* Mr. Nobbs's apprehensions of the results of such an introduction were not wholly groundless, though happily not in this case realized. "I have heard," writes Sir William Denison, "enough about the pupils brought from the South Sea Islands to New Zealand, to make me in no way anxious to have them introduced among the simple-minded Pitcairn Islanders."

tribute cheerfully of my substance, or in any other feasible way assist in promoting the entrance of the Word of Life into the regions of Moloch; but the evils which will arise from the personal introduction of an incarnate code of idolatry and degradation among us, are so unmistakably palpable, that I may not yield even to the eloquent arguments of the Bishop of New Zealand. The Rev. Mr. Patteson, the bishop's chaplain, is, I believe, going to remain at one of the islands for a few months; perhaps this will open an effectual door for future operations, if it please God."

In a dispatch, dated May 25th, 1866, from the Right Honorable E. Cardwell to His Excellency Sir John Young, it appears that the colonial secretary did not disapprove of strangers settling on Norfolk Island, and was strongly of opinion that the establishment of a college and mission would prevent undesirable persons remaining, but desired that nothing should be done that might seem unfair to the Pitcairn people.

Extract from the Rev. G. H. Nobbs's *Letter to* Admiral Moresby.

"I have received a dispatch from Sir John Young, containing the startling intelligence that Bishop Patteson is to have one thousand acres of land (by purchase) for the formation of a Melanesian college. We are all astounded at this somewhat arbitrary proceeding, but have concluded that it is better to succumb to this innovation rather than have a dozen or two adventurers with their families inflicted upon us—shrewd, grasping men and women, who will strive to get the upper hand. It seems Sir John Young is determined to raise a revenue, and for that purpose is disposing of allotments (under the authority of the Home Government, as His Excellency asserts), but to what extent we are not informed; but this much we are plainly told, 'That nothing whatever beyond our fifty-acre allotments belongs to us; neither the sheep nor the

ground on which the sheep feed—all is Government property, and may be sold or otherwise disposed of as seemeth best to the Government or the Governor; I know not at present which. Surely it was not with this understanding we left Pitcairn."

His Excellency Sir John Young *to the* Rev. G. H. Nobbs.

"Government-house, Sydney, August 23d, 1866.

"My dear Mr. Nobbs,—I have before me your letter of June 14th, which I received on the 8th instant. I am glad to hear that so large a quantity as two tons of cheese was produced upon the island, and hope it met a good market. Bishop Patteson told me some years ago that he would endeavor to turn the attention of the islanders to the production of cheese, as well suited to the locality and likely to be remunerative.

"It is satisfactory to find that the soil is being cultivated, in view to the hoped-for visits of American whalers seeking supplies. Their wants and those of other vessels render the primitive isolation practicable at Pitcairn impracticable at Norfolk Island. What remains, then, is for the islanders to turn to the best account the situation in which their lot is cast, and derive advantage from the customers who present themselves to remunerate industry by buying its produce.

"I am well content to hear from you, as well as from the chief magistrate, so complete an approval of the settlement which Bishop Patteson contemplates. As regards the extent of land proposed for the occupation of the Melanesian mission, it is obvious that the bishop could not involve himself in the expense of building and laying out plans for a permanent head station and centre of operations, unless he had a property large enough to meet the proposed future requirements of his benevolent and truly Christian enterprise.

"On the other points you mentioned, viz., as to your apprehensions as regards a promiscuous immigration, or even the admission of a few selected settlers to teach husband-

ry, etc., I can give you full satisfaction. The former, a promiscuous immigration, the throwing the island open, selling land to any comers that might offer a good price for it, was not a scheme contemplated by me at any time, nor, so far as I know, entertained in any quarter.

"As to the latter, the sending a few well-chosen settlers to teach husbandry, etc., I received the sanction of the Secretary of State to send a few selected settlers of a class likely to live in harmony with the islanders, but I do not mean to act upon the sanction; and I shall leave it over till a future time, and for the consideration of some successor of mine hereafter. Bishop Patteson counselled delay in this respect in a spirit most friendly to the islanders, and I readily concede so much to your and his wishes and advice.

"The bishop is to pay a good round sum for the land, and this sum will be carefully invested, and the accruing interest applied annually, as far as it will go, to the payment of your salary, that of the chief magistrate, the cost of medicines, flags, and other necessary matters. . . . .

"As regards the island becoming too thickly populated, I think you need entertain but little fear of that for a long time to come. It is so fertile that, with due cultivation, it would easily maintain four thousand inhabitants, and this without reference to the occupations which might be derived from commerce and the wealth of your fisheries, which teem all around the coast. Believe me, faithfully yours, JOHN YOUNG."

REV. G. H. NOBBS *to His Excellency* SIR JOHN YOUNG.

"Norfolk Island, October 5th, 1866.

"HONORED SIR AND FRIEND,—Your very kind letter, dated August 23d, I have just read, and its urbanity is assuredly a cause for unqualified gratitude throughout this highly-favored community. As Captain Hope leaves in an hour or two, I can not now advert to any portion of Your Excellency's letter, but I hope to have the opportunity ere long of assuring you, my honored friend, what a

burden your valued assurances have removed from the minds of the community generally, and myself in especial. I trust it will be abundantly apparent to Your Excellency, ere you quit this hemisphere, that your continued solicitude for our welfare is productive of desirable results. Bishop Patteson left us on Tuesday for Auckland; the Rev. Mr. Palmer and sixteen Melanesians remain to commence operations in agriculture, etc."

REV. G. H. NOBBS *to* ADMIRAL SIR FAIRFAX MORESBY.

"Norfolk Island, October 16th, 1866.

"MY HONORED AND EVER KIND FRIEND,—Grace, mercy, and peace be to and upon yourself, and all whom you love.

"Your valued and valuable letters in triplicate have been duly received at their several periods; that from Malvern on the 13th instant, but they have been only a few weeks apart. Last evening, at a public meeting convened for the purpose, I read them, in conjunction with a letter from Sir John Young, to the whole community; and such blessings and cheerings for the 'good old admiral,' could you have heard them, would have convinced a more skeptical cosmopolite than Sir Fairfax Moresby, that genuine gratitude and unsophisticated love and respect are still in full bearing among the *ci-devant* Pitcairn Islanders. I need not say how proudly I take my stand among commodores, captains, and other excellent R.N. friends, and recapitulate the unfailing and unprecedented sympathy expressed by yourself, your family, and honored Sir Thomas, for this community in general, and myself in particular.

"Your representations to the Secretary of State have been unmistakably attended to, as you will see by the inclosed letter from Sir John Young; but you must not misunderstand what His Excellency says concerning the approval of the magistrate and myself, in respect of the eleven hundred acres of land obtained by Bishop Patteson. The gist of the matter, as concerns myself, the magistrate, and other members of the community, is simply this: Soon after the death of my son Edwin, the bishop was re-

marking that he should be glad to find some eligible place for establishing a branch institution, where some of the best of his scholars might sojourn during the winter months. After some consultation with those who I well knew had (in the words of Dibdin) 'a heart that can feel for another,' I advised the bishop to apply for some two hundred acres of land, whereon he might build the supplementary college. The bishop accordingly did apply, and obtained a grant from Sir John Young. At that period His Excellency was in an angry mood with the community, by reason that a second party of our people had returned to Pitcairn, and actually meditated sending down a dozen or so German families, or else selling a quantity of allotments to any families (outsiders) that might be disposed to purchase them, alleging at the same time that he was authorized by the Home Government, and that it was, moreover, necessary that sales should be made in order to originate a revenue for the use of the island. On hearing this, we wrote to yourself and Mr. Mills on the subject, and Bishop Patterson informed us subsequently that he had seen Sir John Young; and he, Sir John, had consented to postpone sending immigrants hither for a season. Affairs went on as usual for some time, when a letter from the governor was received by the chief magistrate, desiring him to reserve ten specified allotments (one thousand acres) until he received further instructions. Shortly afterwards the bishop arrived, and informed us that he had purchased the land in question at the rate of three pounds an acre, and, moreover, that the Home Government had sanctioned the sale. You, my honest friend, can easily imagine our astonishment at this proceeding of the Home authorities in thus alienating from us, *nolens volens*, so large a part of what had been most graciously guaranteed to ourselves and our families some ten years before. We had several public meetings on the subject, but the bishop assured us, on his arrival (and the governor corroborated the assurance in his letter), that the Home Government had authorized the concession. And so, after a good

deal of wishing ourselves back at Pitcairn again, etc., etc., we came to the conclusion that if the land must be alienated, it is better for the bishop to occupy it than a dozen or two families, for whose good conduct there could be no guaranty. And so, I suppose, we had better say no more about it. Your benevolent representations have been, in their result, of essential service, and will assuredly act as a *refresher* to whomsoever may fill the office of Secretary for the Colonies; and, although the loss to us is a serious one, still I have no doubt that the worthy bishop's dwelling in our midst will be of great benefit, and that all rivalry (whether religious or secular) will be studiously avoided.

"Although the community has rallied, in consequence of a successful whaling season, and the sale of a good quantity of cheese, from recent scarcity of apparel, etc., dear Mary's box will be looked for with anxiety, and received with heartfelt gratitude; and by none more than by my own family. . . . . You are supposed, as a matter of course, to have danced at the queen's ball, for our young ones can not imagine the possibility of going to a ball and not dancing, and that, of a certainty, Lady Moresby would be your first partner. Ever gratefully yours,

"GEORGE H. NOBBS."

Letter from the EARL OF HARROWBY *to* ADMIRAL SIR F. MORESBY.

"London, April 6th, 1867.

"DEAR ADMIRAL MORESBY,—I have been much interested in the papers which you have sent me on the subject of the Pitcairn Islanders. Their case is so peculiar, that I feel fearful of interfering without a fuller knowledge of all the circumstances, and of all the means of forming an opinion as to what is really for their benefit. I do not see that the fee-simple* of their island was ever promised them, nor

* It seems to have been their own fault that they had not the fee-simple. Sir William Denison directed Lieutenant Gregorie to divide among them

a permanent exclusion of all other settlers. The measure was always as an experiment, and the work of carrying it out was clearly to be adopted from time to time according to the results. No doubt the whole process was to be made subordinate to their benefit, but was left to experience to decide.

"Now, here it is that I feel my incompetence. I do not know what is best for them under present circumstances, and in this condition feel I must repose confidence in those who have a better means of forming a wise judgment than I have, and who seem to show a deep interest in the welfare and full appreciation of the peculiarities of their position and wants. I must think the successive governors, Denison and Young, seem to have been really desirous to befriend them; and with full knowledge of their case. The only point on which I might doubt myself, is whether it is desirable to give to an extraneous element, however respectable, so large a share in the authority of the island as the sale or grant of one thousand acres would convey. To this specific point I will call such attention as I can. I beg to return the papers, and to thank you for having recalled my attention to a subject so interesting. Believe me, dear Admiral Moresby, yours faithfully,

"HARROWBY."

In a letter from John Buffett (one of the oldest members of the Pitcairn colony) to the Right Hon. Lord Carnarvon, Secretary of State for the Colonies, he observes:

"I wish your lordship to notice that the chief cause of our removing from Pitcairn Island was the scarcity of land. The community have no objections to offer against the establishment of the head-quarters of the Melanesian

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all the land except five hundred acres required for public purposes, and two hundred acres for church and school. They preferred to keep the land in common, and to have only fifty-acre grants made to them individually. On Sir William's visit to the island, he confirmed in fee-simple these desired fifty-acre allotments.

mission in this island, with three or four hundred acres of land, but would wish respectfully to protest against the sale of one thousand acres, or one-tenth of the island. I would also solicit your lordship's attention to the fact, that several of our newly-married people have applied for grants at various times within the last three or four years, and have not yet received them; while strangers with money have stepped in and bought lands, and our people still left in doubt whether they will get a grant or not."

John Adams wrote to Admiral Moresby somewhat to the same effect. He says that they had found the English immigrants "worshippers at the shrine of the golden calf."

The Rev. G. H. Nobbs *to* Admiral Sir Fairfax Moresby, K.C.B.

"Norfolk Island, May 24th, 1867.

"We have now two clergymen in charge of the Melanesian establishment at the 'Long Ridge,' some three miles from us. Of course, they do not at present interfere with us, though one of them, an M.A. and fellow of his college, comes down occasionally on the Sabbath-day, and takes part of the duty as curate. His name is Codrington, a near relative of the late and present admirals of that name. He is a well-bred, gentlemanly person, and, as may be supposed, we sail together in a ship-shape manner. The bishop is to return (D.V.) early in September, and then I suppose we shall have an accession of priests and deacons, and a multitude of neophytes. The visit of another bishop was contemplated, but the Primate of New Zealand is on the point of leaving for England, by invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

"I have just heard that Sir John Young is to be relieved by the Marquis of Normanby; for personal kindness and many favors I owe Sir John a fund of gratitude, but His Excellency's plans for the welfare of the community in a general sense were sadly Utopian, of which eleven hundred acres to the Melanesian mission is the climax. I heartily

wish Lord Normanby may be as kindly disposed, but more *conservative* as respects the lot of our inheritance. I am again busily engaged in the school, but I have my youngest son Sidney as the principal. He receives forty pounds a year, myself twenty-five pounds, and a lad of sixteen, of good abilities, twelve pounds; so that we now have *our college* in full working order for seventy-seven pounds per annum, but I doubt whether we should be able to collect that regularly, as there is little or no demand for our exports in the colonies, and ships rarely visit us. If the whaling fails this season, our people will be embarrassed, as most of the requisites for the occasion are purchased on credit; but if successful, they will be all right for a time.

"I am not complaining; we have enough to eat of meat, potatoes, and maize, and comfortable houses to live in, but beyond this the community generally are in scanty plight. But times will mend, I doubt not. Believe me, my dear admiral, yours ever faithfully, G. Nobbs."

Sir John Young *to the* Duke of Buckingham.

"Government-house, Sydney, 23d November, 1867.

"Having reference to the request on the part of the Norfolk Island community in Mr. Bates's favor, communicated to me by Mr. F. Nobbs, I have issued a grant to Mr. Bates of an allotment, and received payment from him at the rate of two pounds an acre, which sum will be duly carried to the account of the principal now about to be invested for the benefit of the islanders. Mr. Bates is an American. He owned a small trading schooner. The islanders adopted and pressed him to remain with them, and trade on his and their joint account from Norfolk Island to the different adjacent ports. On the ground of their adoption, he applied to me for a grant of land. This I refused, as free grants of land were reserved for the Pitcairners, but I allowed him to buy an allotment at the rate of two pounds an acre. The money has been added to the capital accumulated to supply a public revenue, and for the benefit of the people. Under present circumstances

the money is of more advantage to the community than the land. From this statement of facts, Your Grace will see that Mr. Bates's residence in the island is not of my causing, but of the deliberate choice of the islanders more than once communicated to me. He is an active man of good character, and I think well of him, as stated in my dispatch to Mr. Cardwell of 18th of November, 1864. He is at the present time engaged in navigating a small trading vessel on shares with a crew of the islanders, his own craft having been unfortunately wrecked. . . . ."

"When, some years ago, the chief magistrate of the day applied to me with the request that I would look out for husbands for several young damsels, who were growing up without a proper supply of the article, I found it beyond my power to meet the demand—I could not get a single eligible offer. Steady industrious young men would not give up the certainty of good wages, and the chances of rising in life in the Australian colonies, for all the charms of 'some soft savage and her island cave,' great though their charms undoubtedly are in youth, and enhanced in this instance not merely by a cave, but by a well-built cottage, and an allotment of fifty acres of as fertile land as can anywhere be found. I failed entirely in providing the husbands wanted. No applicant that I could approve presented himself. Several of a different stamp applied from time to time for leave to proceed to the island, but in no case did I accede to the application.

"And now to sum up. How does the case stand? What are the conclusions to be stated after the twelve years' trial? Excepting the school-master, Rossiter, whose location on the island was suggested by the Duke of Newcastle, the tradesmen who were sent by Sir William Denison to teach trades, and the Melanesian mission, whose settlement appeared to me a paramount advantage, not to say necessity, for the good of the islanders, not a single immigrant has been introduced by authority. The peculiar social polity, on which so much stress is laid, has not been tampered with or altered in the slightest degree.

Bishop Patteson has given ample assurances that he will not interfere with it, nor assume any part whatever in the government of the island. He will confine himself within the wire fences that inclose the cultivation-paddocks of the Melanesian missionaries. Outside these fences there is ample space left for carrying on the Pitcairn polity, as well as for supporting the community, even if increased tenfold, in abundance; inasmuch as, out of the eight thousand acres that remain, the members of the community have never in one year cultivated so much as forty. Isolation, it is true, such as was practicable at Pitcairn, does not and can not exist at Norfolk Island; neither do the people seem to desire it. The contact with the world exposes them to temptation, as Sir William Denison predicted. Against temptation I have suggested such safeguards as I deemed available, and, for some of the requirements of the people, such provision as was within my reach. I am persuaded that as time rolls on, and the results develop themselves, the friends of the Pitcairners will remember with gratitude that during my administration every obligation on the part of Her Majesty's Government has been scrupulously observed. A fund, small indeed, but sufficient if judiciously administered, has been provided for various public needs, and a good example has been placed before the people's eyes—an example which they can not ignore, and which they have only to follow in order to insure comfort and independence."

The following extract from a letter to Admiral Sir F. Moresby gives a lady's view of the policy of isolation:

"You will not, I trust, my dearest papa, give yourself any more blame respecting the islanders, as they have intermarried with strangers, against what *would have* been your consent. You can not now expect to keep them isolated, and if the husband of this young woman, or women, chooses to have his friends come to visit him for a month or months, who is to deny him, or prevent other girls from marrying? One interloper allowed, and the thin end of

the wedge is driven home. This they undoubtedly have permitted, and it will be vain for you or any one else, even Mr. Nobbs himself, to try and stop the small gap through which, ere long, the full tide will presently find room to sweep. Besides, is it not natural the young girls should be drawn towards the white race and strangers? It seems almost a pity to prevent it. They naturally think less of those among whom they have spent their whole life, and they yearn for novelty. Mr. Nobbs and Adams may think it wiser and more prudent, but I doubt, if a show of hands were taken on the island, that the majority would be for isolation. And if there had been some lawyer friend to inspect the Articles of Cession before they went out, we should have known how they stood with respect to unlimited possession.

"You are indeed dealing unjustly by yourself in self-accusations. What we *understood* and what *Government really meant* are two widely differing points. And, as I before said, I shall never think the young people will consider their views fairly represented by the old ones. It is not natural, and time will make it plain even to you. They are virtually prisoners, poor girls, and may not marry except among their own people, and that alone is enough to make them rebel. Your loving daughter, M. W."

CHAPTER IX.

Privations of the Pitcairn Colony.—Remarkable Whaling-adventure.—Progress of the Melanesian Mission and College on Norfolk Island.—Account of the Families who returned to Pitcairn Island, by Captain Montresor, R.N., and Sir Wentworth Dilke.

Communication with Norfolk Island had now been uncertain for several years, causing the islanders to suffer both privation and anxiety. The American war had prevented many of the whalers from prosecuting the fishery in the South Seas, and touching at Norfolk for their usual supplies of vegetables; and in the year 1865 not more than thirty pounds' worth of produce had been exported. Under these circumstances the islanders were reduced to great difficulties, as will be seen by the extract from a letter written by Mr. Nobbs, and dated—

"Norfolk Island, September 12th, 1865.

"Your box arrived most opportunely, and you may thoroughly admit the assertion, for never during the last thirty years have my own family, or the community generally, been so badly off for wearing-apparel. I do not include myself, for, thanks to the admiral, Sir Thomas Acland, and other friends, my rigging is still pretty good; but for the rest of the community—especially the women and children—a great want of clothing has been experienced for more than two years. Window-curtains, and other vestiges of improving civilization, have been converted into wearing-apparel during the winter just gone by. Another reason why such destitution prevails is, that the plant which produces the material for manufacturing the tappa, or island cloth, will not thrive here, so that the women can not manufacture the comfortable

bed-clothing so necessary in such isolated places as this. I repeat, it is not from indolence or want of care that these privations are at the present moment so general, but the poverty of demand for the island produce."

REV. MR. NOBBS *to* ADM'L SIR FAIRFAX MORESBY, K.C.B.

(Extract.)

"Norfolk Island, December 23d, 1867.

"*December 26th.*—A tranquil Christmas, with some of your loved ones beneath your roof-tree, is the wish of your humble and grateful friends in this our pleasant home, and may you be gratified to know that we cherish with unabated love and respect our memories of the 'good old admiral.'

"We had a cheerful Christmas, very similar to those of years gone by, but I was so fatigued by the services of the day (three) that I was glad to go to bed at six o'clock—an hour before sunset. . . . . ."

"I am fast drifting towards death's bay. You will believe me, I am sure, when I say I will not quit my post till body or mind gives way; but the fact can not be concealed from others, as well as myself, that I am rapidly becoming a very old man. My good wife is also frequently an invalid. She sends her Christian greeting, and New Year's best wishes to Lady Moresby and yourself, and earnestly assures you both that, while life lasts, she will never cease to remember with gratitude your labor of love and Christian sympathy for the Pitcairn people in general, and her own family in particular.

"*January 1st*, 1868.—A happy New Year to you, dear Sir Fairfax and Lady Moresby. Ever gratefully yours,

"G. R. F. (NOBBS)."

REV. G. H. NOBBS *to the* REV. G. D. GLENNIE, *Secretary to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.*

"Norfolk Island, January 29th, 1868.

"We are going on in our usual quiet way, increasing in numbers, but not greatly improving our long-sustained

position in worldly matters; having at all times a good supply of food, but not of other domestic requirements, by reason that ships rarely visit us, and the island produce is not demanded in the colonies of New Zealand and Australia, they having in general sufficient for their own consumption. Nevertheless, we may not complain, being in better circumstances than thousands even in dear Old England. We at this moment number exactly three hundred persons, and, somewhat singular, are one hundred and fifty of either sex. The births last year were eighteen; deaths four, from whooping-cough. At this time the community is in good health. I am just now, and have been for the last twelve months, very fully employed, having, besides the clerical and medical duties, to attend the school daily, the Government grant being rescinded.

"There are ninety children being educated, and the parents pay one pound a year for each child, which is divided among the teachers, four in number, in this manner —forty pounds for the principal, who is a son of mine, twenty-five pounds for the next *in rank*, *which is myself*, until the arrival of another son, whom I am daily expecting from Sydney, and the two pupil teachers at twelve pounds and six pounds respectively. The few surplus pounds are expended in paper, ink, etc. These stipends are far too small. However, the school may not, must not, be neglected, although I must be school-teacher until the arrival of my son to relieve me of my somewhat onerous duties in this department; for my threescore years and ten are beginning to weigh heavily, my hearing being especially impaired, the result of an attack of influenza last year.

"Bishop Patteson is making great progress in building, fencing, cultivating, etc. His present establishment consists of two clergymen in full orders, two deacons, and two students from St. Augustine's College (England). His neophytes from the islands amount to seventy, several of whom are females. I am free to say the improvement

of these hitherto unmitigated savages is really surprising. 'St. Barnabas College' is about three miles from Kingston. The 'native boys' seldom come among us, but the bishop, Mr. Codrington (his lordship's chaplain), and others of the clerical party, are frequently in our midst, and generally on Sunday afternoon take a portion of the service in our church, but not at all interfering with my arrangements. Of course, we are not slow to proffer them our hospitality, nor they backward in accepting it, and in return invitations to St. Barnabas are frequently and as promptly acceded to. I am most desirous this kindly feeling should continue, and will do all I can to promote it. An ordination took place on St. Thomas's Day of one priest and two deacons—all English—belonging to the bishop's establishment; it was solemnized in our church, and the first ever witnessed by our people. I read prayers, Mr. Codrington preached, and we then took our appointed stations on each side of the bishop, within the communion-rails. Afterwards, assisted by the newly ordained, the holy communion was administered to one hundred and twenty persons, several of whom were Melanesians of either sex.

"A long drought has rendered food somewhat more scarce than usual, but we have recently had a gracious rain, and are able now to plant as much as is necessary. Another difficulty of the past year is nearly, if not quite, surmounted. The governor offered all the sheep and cattle termed public or Government property to the community at a stated price per head, which was agreed to, and with what little money they had on hand, the wool of last shearing, and the oil taken (one hundred and forty barrels), the obligation is met, or nearly so; and now all the stock on the island, except what Bishop Patteson may introduce, is communal property, and will, I think, be of great benefit. Sir John Young's reason for thus disposing of the sheep and cattle was that he might form a permanent revenue, which is to be applied to such purposes as shall from time to time be considered beneficial to the

community. In this matter His Excellency has shown an earnest desire for the general welfare.

"I should be most grateful for a few school-maps for the instruction of the elder classes; in short, for any thing available for school purposes. May I ask you, my respected friend, to interest yourself in this, to us a matter of primary importance. It is rarely I get a letter from England; my respected friends of 1852 have nearly all passed away. Admiral Moresby, Sir Thomas Acland, Mr. Mills, and yourself, are all that remain of that goodly number.

"I have yet three unmarried children, and a widowed daughter with one child dwelling with me, and twenty-five grandchildren frequently, almost daily, visiting me, so that there is little probability of my becoming lonesome; besides, my dear old rib is as much enamored of a nursery now, as when our own little ones were tumbling about beneath the banyan-trees at Pitcairn. The worthy woman, with her daughters, send their Christian regards to Mrs. Glennie, and your household generally. That the Father of mercies, and God of all grace, may have you in His holy keeping, is the earnest prayer of yours very sincerely, GEORGE H. NOBBS.

"REV. J. DAVID GLENNIE, M.A."

In the following extract from a letter to Admiral Moresby, John Adams, an old and respected member of the Pitcairn community, bears testimony to the zeal of Mr. Nobbs in fulfilling his ministerial duties. The writer seems, like most of the islanders, to have felt an undue alarm at the establishment of the Melanesian college.

The people happily found in Bishop Patteson the high principles of a Christian and a gentleman, and he has most strictly adhered to the condition that the Pitcairn colony should in no way be interfered with by the clergy of the missionary establishment or by the pupils. At the same time, whenever they applied for assistance or advice, the

bishop has promptly afforded both with the utmost kindness and sympathy.

JOHN ADAMS *to* ADMIRAL SIR FAIRFAX MORESBY, K.C.B.

"Norfolk Island, September 28th, 1868.

"The fever has quite left us, not without laying many of our friends and relatives in the grave. Many of us have, under God, to thank that dear good old soul Mr. Nobbs for the preservation of many of our lives. Morning, night, and noon, sick and faint himself from watchings and anxieties, he is to be seen now here, now there, now commending a departing spirit into the hands of a merciful God, and then again administering medicines to some, cheering and comforting others by lively conversation. In fact, like an angel of light, all through the horrors of that terrible and fearful sickness, he diffused light and comfort wherever he went. The true friend and the true shepherd of the flock, he cared not for himself, but went wherever and whenever duty called him."

It may be added that the Pitcairn people found in time that their retirement was not so much invaded as they had apprehended. They became interested in the scheme, and as the college was founded on St. Barnabas Day, they named it "The College of St. Barnabas," and the bishop adopted the title.

The following letter records the grateful feelings of the Pitcairn community for the exertions of their kind friend, Sir Fairfax Moresby, on their behalf regarding the college and the appropriation of land.

"Norfolk Island, October 20th, 1868.

"DEAR ADMIRAL MORESBY,—Your kind letter to Mr. Nobbs, with extracts of letters from Messrs. Glennie and White to yourself, under date of May 15th, were publicly read a few days after receipt, and it only serves to add, in our estimation, one more to the already innumerable proofs of your disinterested kindness to our community.

"We can not allow you to quit the 'scene of conflict' where you have battled so long and so nobly for our welfare, without tendering you our united thanks for favors so generously and so unostentatiously bestowed upon us by yourself and by others through you, commencing from the first day of our acquaintance up to the present time.

"Now that all is over, will you kindly tender to those who have taken an interest in our cause our sincerest thanks, and assure them that we deeply appreciate their kind intentions. Well do we know that our cause was just, but *perhaps* we were in a measure to blame. As you have said, the 'die is cast'—now let the past be buried in oblivion.

"Again, dear, dear admiral, accept our heartiest thanks for all you have done for us, for, we assure you, long will we cherish in our hearts the remembrance of your kindness to us and ours.

"That Heaven may shower its choicest blessings upon you and yours will ever be the prayer of your grateful friends,

JOHN BUFFETT, *Chief Magistrate*,
JOHN ADAMS, *Councillor*,
GEORGE H. NOBBS, *Chaplain*,
GEORGE ADAMS, *aged* 65 *years*,
ARTHUR QUINTAL,* *aged* 76 *years*,"

and last surviving children of the mutineers of the Bounty. In the name and on the behalf of the Pitcairn community now residing on Norfolk Island."

The next extract of a letter from the Rev. G. Nobbs is of the same date as the above:

"We are slowly returning to our usual duties. The whaling-season is drawing to a close—one hundred and fifty barrels have only yet been taken. The whales are every year becoming more difficult to approach, and more dangerous. We have had one boat smashed within fifteen

* "The oldest man on the island, with something of the spirit of the old Covenanters."—*Note by Admiral Moresby.*

seconds of darting the harpoon. The whale went off with one hundred and fifty fathoms of line; the crew took to the oars and pieces of the wreck. Signals were made from the hills to another boat some three miles off, and in less than half an hour they were providentially saved from a watery grave, or the more ravenous sharks. The wreck was not worth picking up, and the whale never seen again.

"*October* 16*th*.—To-day I enter my seventieth year, and 'tis only sixteen years to-day since I arrived in England with dispatches from the Commander-in-chief in the Pacific Ocean. What changes both in the great world and our microcosm have taken place since the latter period! but amid all the chances and changes of this transitory world Jehovah is unchangeable, and that Triune God is our God, He will be our guide even unto death.

"Since the commencement of this letter we have been more successful in whaling; we have now three hundred and fifty barrels of oil, and probably might get a hundred barrels more, but all our casks and other available articles are full, and we can not, like the Shunamite of old, borrow from our neighbors, but I trust we are imbued with similar feelings of gratitude.

"We have still a good deal of sickness amongst us of a febrile type, but not alarming; whether ever I shall get clear of medical responsibilities until I get into my coffin, I have much doubt.

"I am, at this time, anxiously awaiting either the advent of Lord Belmore, or some ship of war from Sydney, to bring me my annual supply of medicine, for I am beginning to run short.

"*October* 22*d*.—The vessel we are expecting from Auckland has not yet arrived; but an opportunity offers for forwarding this, and John Adams's letter in the name of the community, signed by the chief magistrate and myself in the name and by the request of all hands.

"And now, once more, God be with you, honored friend.

"Gratefully yours, G. H. Nobbs."

The daring and hardihood of the islanders in steering boats through the surf, and among the surf-beaten rocks of Pitcairn, no less than their powers of swimming long distances, and remaining for hours in the water, were admirable qualifications for the whale-fishery. A more remarkable story of adventure is perhaps not recorded in the annals of whale-fishing than that contained in Mr. Nobbs's letter to Admiral Moresby, which we give at length:

"Norfolk Island, December 11th, 1868.

"We have had an adventurous whaling-season. About three hundred barrels (of oil) have been taken, or at least preserved; two boats destroyed entirely (one of these I mentioned in my last letter); and one crew of six persons were for three hours in the water, without the aid or knowledge of the other boats. The boat in question, Frederick Young's, was some three miles from the shore, and having imprudently fastened to a cow whale, no other boat being in sight, she very quietly turned the boat bottom up without staving a plank, and then went off some distance. The crew set about righting the boat, but of course could not free her from water; however, they got the oars lashed athwart, and, though the gunwale was level with the sea, commenced paddling (each boat always carrying a set of paddles besides the oars) very comfortably towards the shore, as I said, about a league distant. The current was against them, and they did not make much progress, still they were gaining ground, when to their surprise they saw the wounded whale coming towards the boat. As soon as they were convinced the boat was the object which engaged her attention—she either supposing it to be her calf, which lay dead some two miles distant, or actuated by a desire for vengeance—the crew leaped overboard, and the irritated monster placed her head on the boat and there remained motionless for some time. Then she retired to a short distance, and the headman swam back and got a lance ready, determined to use

it if the whale came again within reach. She did return, and Young actually thrust the lance several times into her 'spout-hole.' Feeling the smart, the whale settled down some fathoms, then came up swiftly and smashed boat and oars into fragments.

"There was now no alternative but to strike out for the land. One of the crew, an English sailor, could not swim, but two of our people bid him put an arm on each of their necks, and they would not leave him while life remained. The last time they saw the whale she was in a very weak state from loss of blood, but still remaining by the debris of the boat. And now, for three long weary hours, did they exert their energies to the utmost; but, the current setting off, they had not gained more than a mile. The poor sailor was almost exhausted, and most began to think their ultimate safety doubtful. There was also a lad of sixteen, one of our own people, who was beginning to weary, so that the other two of the crew were obliged to keep by his side to encourage him. That which seemed to alarm the lad more was the presence of immense sharks, whose fins were continually coming in contact with his legs. At this time their perilous situation was unknown to the other boats, or to us on shore.

"At length my son Fletcher, seeing nothing of Young's boat for several hours, left off chasing whales and went in quest of him. After a search of some time he concluded the boat must have landed, and began to think of doing so himself, as what are technically called 'the chances' of the day were over. While rowing leisurely along shore, about a mile from the land, Fletcher, who was standing up steering, fancied he heard something like a distant shouting or calling. Having mentioned this to the boat's crew, they ceased pulling, and surveyed the adjacent ridge, which came down nearly to the water's edge, thinking it might be some one desirous of telling them in what direction the other boats were. But they could see no one. Presently they heard the same sounds again, and then after a short interval a third time.

"Fletcher and his crew were now of opinion that it was from seaward the voices proceeded. Having come to this conclusion, the boat's head was turned in that direction, and 'Spring, boys, there's help needed somewhere,' was the prompt conclusion, and they bent to their oars with a good will. After pulling nearly a mile, the steersman, who had perched himself on the gunwale of the boat, fancied he saw three black spots on the water, about the size and appearance of cocoa-nuts, and quickly became assured they were human heads.

"Thinking these were all that were left of the crew of Young's boat, he became so affected that he sank down in the stern-sheets, and could not utter a word. This, of course, alarmed the boat's crew, but he speedily recovered himself, and simply said, 'Pull, boys; there they are, just ahead.' Soon they had the three on board, but they were actually afraid to ask what had become of the other three, fearing they were either drowned or eaten by the sharks; but one of the escaped men said, 'Pull on; the others can't be far off,' and about half a mile farther on the others were happily met with, but in a most exhausted state: humanly speaking, another half-hour would have sealed their fate.

"And now for ourselves, who were on shore. Many of us, both male and female, were assembled on the pier, looking at a young whale which had been killed the day before, when a boat appeared rounding the 'Windmill-point.' All eyes were directed towards her, and some one remarked, 'There are more than six people in that boat; some accident has happened.' Our faces blanched, and our hearts beat quick on hearing these remarks. After a few moments' silence, and as the boat drew nearer, we attempted to count the number on board. Having no glass at hand, we could only perceive nine. Three are gone, was the mournful conclusion; but whose husband, son, or brother? I now ventured to ask, but with bated breath, 'Who's steering the boat?' 'Fletcher,' was the prompt reply—the only son I had out that day. Did I feel a relief? Wasn't

it selfish? I can answer the first query, let casuists decide the second.

"After a little further scrutiny of the quickly approaching boat, a tenth person was discovered, and then the eleventh; they were seated among the rowers. At last the twelfth was discerned seated low in the stern, with his head resting on the gunwale. Yes, they were all there, but this last undoubtedly injured. Well, the pier was soon rounded, and as soon as they came within hail, 'All right?' was our half-fearful interrogatory. 'All right, thank God!' was the subdued but cheerful response. No one was hurt, and the man leaning on the side of the boat was the English sailor, still weak and pallid; our people had stuck by him, to the endangering of their own lives. What a picturesque appearance they exhibited; some with trowsers and no shirts, others with shirts and no trowsers, for the swimming-party had divested themselves of all incumbrances, even to nudity, and those in the boat had shared their garments with them, which were not many, as the weather was intensely warm. However, here they were, all mercifully preserved. And I am sure all hands were unfeignedly thankful, for tears of joy plentifully bedewed the faces of all present."

To this letter Mr. Nobbs added the following postscript:

"I have no knowledge of the Reuben Nobbs *alluded to in* your letter. I saw the account in an Exeter paper, and read it to my family. It is a curious coincidence, and I can only account for it by supposing some one named Nobbs may have read the Rev. T. B. Murray's early edition of 'Pitcairn,' and so was induced to name his son Reuben. Nobbs is not, I believe, a common, though undoubtedly a *plebeian* name, and I never met a person of this patronymic in all my travels; but, strange to say, a few months since a ship called the Esk touched here on her way to China, commanded by Captain Charles Nobbs; of course we knew nothing of each other. The name was assumed by me as a matter of convenience when I first

went to sea, and beyond the worthy couple bearing the name, with whom I dwelt for some time previous, but who had no children of their own, I never have been acquainted with a Nobbs, male or female. You are acquainted with my mother's reason for my assumption of this *nom de guerre*."

To Mr. *and* Mrs. Robert White, *Son-in-law and Daughter of* Admiral Sir Fairfax Moresby, G.C.B.

"Norfolk Island, February 19th, 1869.

"My dear Friends,—'As your day is, so shall your strength be,' is the promise of our covenant God, and I quote it, as having indeed realized its fulfillment many times in my threescore years and ten, but probably never more so than during our last providential visitation; and I trust that you, too, in your present sunshine of domestic felicity, may experience and gratefully acknowledge it. Your honored father's letter of the 30th of September, with yours inclosed, I received yesterday, and though in declining health, I must not let this opportunity of answering it pass by. To Sir Fairfax I wrote last month, and more recently to Sir Thomas, so that I shall wait for returning health ere I again write to three of my best friends, or else employ one of my sons as my amanuensis, or to announce my death. I am not dangerously ill, but wearing away. I can not go to visit my distant patients on horseback, by reason of an almost broken neck, a reminiscence of war, *glorious* war—some fifty years since—and even walking quickly wearies me. The Melanesian clergy very kindly take the afternoon service on Sundays, and would do more were I to resign; but I do not intend to do so, unless my infirmities prove too great a hindrance.

"We have been called to mourning. Thirty of our community have been taken away in little more than a year. Verily the mourners went about the streets. I have detailed the circumstances to the admiral, and he will, no doubt, send you his letter. I am too unwell at this time to enter into more particulars; but, blessed be God, it is

not a painful subject to meditate upon. Our dear departed ones *knew* in whom they *trusted*, and did believe and realized that He was able to keep that which they had committed unto Him. 'Death could not make souls afraid,' for God was with them here.

"When you write to my best earthly friend, tell him old and young, men, women, and children, unite with me, proffering our unqualified love to *our* dear old admiral.

"In verity yours, while to the windward side of the grave-yard, G. H. Nobbs."

In a later letter addressed by Mr. Nobbs to his friend, the Rev. G. D. Glennie, he gives a more cheerful account of the state of the Pitcairn colony:

"Norfolk Island, July 29th, 1869.

"The voice of health and gladness is again heard in our dwellings, although the exhausting effects of the typhoid fever have not entirely disappeared. Two grown persons have died of phthisis, consequent upon the debility caused by the epidemic last year.

"We are going on very comfortably, hoping and expecting that American whale-ships will again visit us—now that their internecine war is ended—for vegetable produce, beef, etc. Bishop Patteson left us a month since for the Isles of Darkness, taking with him some thirty neophytes, all of whom have been baptized, and several are communicants. One Melanesian deacon and three English clergymen, ordained since their sojourn at this place, also accompany him. There remain about thirty Melanesians and two clergymen. One or other of these latter generally takes the afternoon service in my church, and assists at the Holy Communion on the first Sunday of each month. Our people are frequently invited by the bishop and his clergy to tea, etc., and accept similar friendly demonstrations from us, but the scholars never come near us, nor even into the town, unless there is timber or stores from Auckland to be landed and transferred to the mission, so that we are as much to ourselves as we can desire; and

were it not that so much land has been alienated, we have no reason to regret the establishment of 'St. Barnabas College.' I have recently written to Mr. Mills, and shall, with this, forward letters to Sir T. Acland and Admiral Moresby by the next conveyance, whenever it may occur.

"We are collecting materials for a new church, the old one, built under the convict regime, being in a very ruinous state. The pecuniary benevolence of Sir Thomas and the admiral have enabled us to procure from Sydney and Auckland many requirements for the undertaking. We were rapidly increasing, but the dreadful epidemic of last year decimated us, and there have this year hitherto been as many deaths as births; still I think the latter will predominate before the close of December. Two hundred and four births have taken place since our exodus in 1856 (these are strictly of our Pitcairn colony), and seventy-two deaths, thirty of which occurred last year. Twelve of our young ones were confirmed in May, and the communicants are one hundred and three. I am still graciously permitted to perform my usual duties, with the exception of superintending the school, from which I am precluded by deafness, which, though not total, has, I fear, become chronic. We have recently obtained a certificated school-master from Auckland, recommended by Bishop Patteson, so that I trust our children will not lack instruction.

"I shall be glad to hear that your young immortals are travelling with their faces Zionward, and that you may be graciously enabled to say with joy, 'Here am I, Lord, and the children thou hast given me.'

"Present my respects to Miss Glennie, to my cicerone, and such others of your family as were pleased to give me a well-remembered and kind reception some seventeen years since.

"With sentiments of grateful respect, believe me, my dear Mr. Glennie, very sincerely yours,

"GEORGE H. NOBBS.

"P.S. *October 14th.*—Bishop Patteson is still on his Melanesian tour. His lordship is at present on the island of

Mota, placing in a safe position the first ordained Melanesian teacher and his wife—the first fruits of righteous years and strenuous exertion; but, if it pleases God, they will now make rapid progress.

"Respected friend, ever faithfully yours,

"G. H. NOBBS."

As the Melanesian mission and the college on Norfolk Island has been so frequently mentioned in many foregoing chapters, the reader will be interested in the following account by Bishop Patteson of the prospects and position of the establishment:

"Soon, by God's blessing, I think we may hope to reap a harvest among the many islands from whence the youths come, for I do think there are some here in whose hearts the Spirit of God is working. They are eager to be taught here, from small to great, and out of school-hours may be seen sitting about with their books spelling the words for themselves. Our translations are yet, for the most part, in Mota, and that is principally learnt and spoken by the boys. How many languages are spoken here really I can not say; certainly a very great number, but they all soon get to know one another, and converse in one language."*

December 14*th*, 1868.—"No servants, white or black." (This is a very noteworthy point in Bishop Patteson's system of work.) "No menial servants, no more paid laborers. The idea that 'one volunteer is worth two pressed men' has never been more thoroughly carried out in principle and detail.

"Well, at 7 P.M. the bell rings for chapel for about one minute, and all hands promptly repair thither. In spite of the vast variety of languages and dialects spoken by the fifty or sixty human beings collected from twenty or thirty islets of the Pacific main, no practical difficulty has

* Extract from the "Australian Churchman."

been found in using '*Mota*'* as the general language for chapel and school, so that in a short time a congregation of twenty languages are able to join in worship in the one *Mota* tongue, more or less akin to all the rest, and a class of (say) nine boys speaking by nature five different languages peaceably agree and easily unite in the using of the one *Mota* language; just as a Frenchman and a German, a Russian, an Italian, and an Englishman, all meeting in the same *café* or railway-carriage, on the same glacier or mountain-top, might harmoniously agree to use French as their medium of communication. So the service is conducted in Mota by the bishop and Rev. Mr. Codrington, and by George Sarawaia, of Mota, who reads the lessons, and who (D.V.) will be ordained a deacon of the Church of England next week. One exception only is made—the collect for the day is read in English, as a brief allowable concession to the ears and hearts of the English members of the mission. The service consists of the greater part of the Church of England service translated. Some modifications have been made to suit the course of religious instruction. The Psalms are chanted, and hymns *sung in parts*, and always in admirable tune, by the congregation. Noteworthy are the perfect attention, the reverent attitude, the hearty singing and unison of this little congregation; a lesson (I felt with shame) to many of our white congregations.

"Now, as regards the manual work of the station, this general principle is observed—women for washing and housework, and men for planting and out-of-door work, but no one, white or black, is to be too grand to do his share.

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* "The island of Mota, or Sugar-loaf Island, is one of the Banks Islands to the southward of the Santa Cruz group in the South Pacific Ocean. The Banks Islands were (in 1856) scarcely marked on the charts, although of considerable size. Mota is spoken of in the 'Melanesian Mission' as one of the brightest spots in its history, and the missionaries were possibly better acquainted with that dialect than any other; the scholars from that island might also be more numerous than from any other."

"The bishop's share, indeed, is to study and investigate and compare the languages and necessary translations, but no one is to be above manual labor, no one quasi-white man is to say, as it were, 'Here, black fellow, come and clean my boots. Here, black people, believe that I have come to give you a treasure of inestimable price; meantime work for me, am I not your superior? Can I not give you money, calico, what not?'

"Well, this Christian democracy, if I may call it so, has worked well in the long run. A little patience, and boys who might have kicked if told to black boots for a white master have gratefully volunteered to do it for a well-beloved white brother, and girls have come to feel hurt to see their white teacher — really loved and revered, really felt to be unspeakably their superior — sweeping his own room, or dusting his own books, and have humbly prayed to be allowed to relieve him of that trouble."

In a letter written by Bishop Patteson to the author, he thus speaks of the character and position of the Pitcairn people on Norfolk Island:

"December 18th, 1869.

"They are really a friendly, kindly, amiable people, with a good deal to learn, and a good deal of room for improvement, like most of us.

"So far from the Pitcairn seclusion being an advantage, I believe that persons so circumstanced will be found to illustrate the truth, that God trains his people by the discipline that comes with the exposure to trials and temptations. The absence of temptation results, at the least, in nothing higher than a merely negative goodness.

"The positive, manly, energetic, Christian character is formed in the midst of trials and struggles."

In the justice and good sense of these remarks we must all concur, and have little doubt but that members of the

Pitcairn colony, when tried and weighed in the balance, will not be found wanting.

The following letter from the Rev. G. H. Nobbs was commenced at the same date as the one from the bishop, and ended January 1st, 1870. It arrived by the same post:

"Norfolk Island, December 16th, 1869.

"My dear Lady Belcher,—'*Ei ia outou te arotra mau e ta hau no o mai i te atua i to tatou metua ra, e no o hoi i te Futu ia Jesu Mesia ra.*'

"A salutation your honored father would have responded to, when in the flesh, with full purpose of heart; and with which I will now greet you, in the vernacular of another people, who are also blessed with a translation of that Book which maketh wise unto salvation—'Grace be unto you, and peace from God our Father and from the Lord Jesus Christ.' . . . .

"We have been nearly fourteen years at this place, and have much cause to be grateful for the removal. Of course, here, as everywhere else, we have had our fruitful seasons and those of scarcity; but these latter have ever been the result of continued drought, and not of indolence and negligence.

"Another drawback is, that the whaling-season is at the very time when agriculture most needs attention, and is in consequence neglected or postponed to a less favorable opportunity. A whale within reasonable distance from the shore receives immediate attention; and I opine, if these leviathans were to visit us through the year, little else as a means of subsistence would be attended to. There is a fascination in chasing and capturing whales, to which our people yield most implicitly, notwithstanding the danger manifestly imminent during the conflict. Hitherto no serious personal injury has been sustained, though many narrow escapes are on record, and frequently narrated when seated in the shadow of some umbrageous pine or fluttering banana-tree, resting during the mid-day heat from the monotonous but also more

beneficial labor of ploughing or hoeing their farm allotments. We have recently heard from our relatives who returned to Pitcairn's; the report is not favorable. A worm infests their potatoes so badly that it is with difficulty they procure sufficient for subsistence; and consequently have no surplus for the supply of ships. The only clothing they have for general use is manufactured from the 'aute' or paper mulberry, and familiarly known as 'tappa.' It is very inferior for wearing-apparel, although sufficient to subserve the purposes of decency. We have none of the plant here, and though we should last year have been glad of some of the cloth for bed-linen during the fever, still I think we shall hardly again resume the manufacture; besides, it is very doubtful if the plant would thrive here, from the low temperature of the winter months—low in our estimation, our zero being 45° Fahrenheit. Lord Belmore has not yet visited us, there being no available ship of war; and to hire a vessel is attended with too great an expense, therefore it is very uncertain whether the earl and countess will honor us with their presence. We are very desirous that his excellency should come, not that we have any thing of a serious nature to submit for adjudication, but there are several moot points respecting land grants and conveyances, and many minor questions which can be solved so much better colloquially than by letter; besides, personal acquaintance relieves epistolary correspondence of much stiffness and formality. My wife, as perhaps you remember, is a granddaughter of Fletcher Christian. She continues to enjoy tolerable health, though, like myself, gradually succumbing to the infirmities of age. We have ten children living; eight are married, with thirty-five children among them; one daughter, a widow with one child before she was twenty years old; and my female Benjamin of thirteen years, who, in accordance with the times, is actually taking lessons in music, with several more of our *young ladies*, from a most competent teacher. Jane has been married several years, and will very shortly be the mother of five children;

her eldest child was unfortunately burnt so badly about five years since that she survived but a few hours. Jane sends her grateful respects. My dear old rib proffers you her Christian regards, and the other members of the family cordially unite. I shall be right glad of a copy of your book, when published; for the Bounty, and the immediate results of the so-called mutiny, are but dimly shadowed forth among their younger descendants, among whom there is a representative of the fifth generation. There are still living one son of Matthew Quintal and one son and daughter of John Adams, and, by the last account of Pitcairn, one daughter of Mills. These are all that remain of the first generation; of the second, thirty-two survive. The Tahitian language is neither spoken nor understood; a few words have become mingled with our not very classical English, and it is beyond the power of Murray or Walker to expel them.

"Bishop Patteson returned from his Melanesian diocese some three months since, bringing with him sixty neophytes. There are now more than a hundred under instruction, and are improving rapidly. It is really astonishing to see how promptly they conform to the judicious modes of instruction pursued by the bishop and his clergy, four of whom are in full orders, and one a deacon. We are on excellent terms with our friends at St. Barnabas, but have little intercourse beyond an occasional invitation to dinner or tea. On Sundays one or other of the clergy kindly assists me, generally taking the entire afternoon service, and one of them has a class in our Sunday-school, the bishop himself coming down to Wednesday afternoon service, for the purpose of meeting those preparing for confirmation. . . . .

"*December 24th.*—We met this morning, according to our law, for the purpose of electing magistrate and councillors for the coming year. During this *interregnum* of perhaps an hour's duration I am invested with the abdicated authority, as 'President of the Electoral College.' The magistrate was re-elected for the fourth consecutive

year. The chief councillor, not wishing to serve longer, was replaced; the second councillor was re-elected. Their names as they stand in office are, John Buffett, junior, Abraham Quintal, and John Adams. Before separating it was put to the vote whether the old church should be repaired or a new one built. A new one was decided upon, *nem. con.*, and then all hands commenced their Christmas preparations.

"January 1st, 1870.

"From our coral-fenced, austrine hacienda, of twenty miles' circumference, glowing beneath a midsummer and nearly vertical sun, accept our New-Year's salutation of grace, mercy, and peace. We have been engaged this morning in laying the corner-stone of our new church ('All Saints'), and humbly trust we shall be permitted to finish it by the middle of this untried year. With the exception of the foundation, it is to be of wood, one hundred feet long, and forty feet wide. Most of the materials for the edifice are obtained, but we shall be most grateful for some assistance in the shape of a cover for the communion-table, and material of which to make cushions for the reading-desk and pulpit, and for the communicants to kneel upon. The outer fabric of these is all that is needed, with material for binding. May I ask you to mention the circumstance to such of your benevolent friends as may be disposed, from sheer Christian philanthropy, to aid us in this matter. I make no apology for preferring this request, feeling sure you will either promulgate or repress it as may seem most consistent with your ideas of conventional propriety. Few of those friends who gave me so cordial a welcome seventeen years since are now in the flesh. Yourself, Admiral Moresby, Sir Thomas Acland, and the reverend secretaries to the S. P. G. and S. P. C. K., are all, or nearly all; but from these untiring benefactors we have received frequent and most essential aid, and to whom on *this day* I should be glad to proffer a *viva voce* salutation of grateful reminiscences. I am writing to Sir Fairfax and Sir Thomas. I wrote to my well-remember-

ed friend, Admiral Fanshawe, some few years since, and through him to his brother-in-law Mr. Cardwell, but presume those letters never reached their intended destination; the subject to which they referred has since been finally adjusted, and I trust we shall be enabled (D.V.) to hold on the tenor of our way, with grateful acknowledgments to the Father of mercies for inclining our beloved queen to bestow on us so eligible a place of abode.

"In consequence of increasing deafness (one of the three warnings), I am constrained to relinquish my superintendence of Sunday and day schools. The latter I used to visit every Friday, to catechise the children by classes, in a room set apart for that purpose, but I can do so no longer. I am most grateful that for forty-one years (since 1828) I have been enabled to do my duty in that state of life in which I humbly trust it was his good pleasure to place me; and now providentially there is other help at hand, that my people will not be neglected, or sustain much loss whenever my *number* is made. And now, my dear lady, I must conclude this very desultory epistle by bidding you God speed, and that the descendants of the mutineers of the Bounty may have grateful cause to felicitate themselves on your exposition of their fathers' derelictions and provocations. Yours in verity, GEORGE H. NOBBS."

The foregoing letter from the pen of Mr. Nobbs, concluded on the 1st of January, 1870, is the last communication which has been received from the Pitcairn Colony on Norfolk Island.

It is a satisfactory document, with which we may for the present take our leave of our distant but affectionate friends, in whose progress and welfare we feel so deep an interest. All the discomforts and disappointments which attended their removal from Pitcairn, and their first arrival at Norfolk Island, seem happily to have passed away; but not among the least of these disappointments was the uncertainty of the position in which they were to settle

down in Norfolk Island. It was most natural that they should desire to remain isolated in their new island home, for their isolation at Pitcairn had no doubt saved them from many evil habits incident to contact with the world; but with their increasing numbers such seclusion became as impossible as it was unadvisable. The two settlements of St. Barnabas and Pitcairn are as much separated as if they were on different islands, and it is pleasing to find that the admirable tact and kindness of Bishop Patteson have won not only the confidence but the regard of the Pitcairn people, who have the opportunity of gaining much practical information as to farming, and the management of stock, of which they were totally ignorant. From this example of labor and industry, so conspicuous in the missionary establishment, they will learn to turn their attention to other profitable means of employment than the whale-fishery, which may every year become more precarious, and the export of oil less remunerative.

Fifteen years have elapsed since the removal from Pitcairn, and the colonists have during this period evinced the same simplicity of manners and conduct, the same honest adherence to truth and uprightness in their dealings, for which they were distinguished in their own little island. Long may these principles remain their characteristics!

It is due to our friend, the Rev. G. H. Nobbs, that this narrative should not close without a tribute to his valuable and excellent services. He has labored among the islanders for more than forty years as their pastor, schoolmaster, and physician, and his efforts have been unceasing in his arduous and varied avocations. Although his declining years will not admit of the continuance of all these duties, yet we hope he may long be spared to them as their Christian guide and minister, and the evening of his

life be cheered by the affectionate regard and esteem of his own numerous family, and of many who have grown up under his eye and benefited by his instruction.

The few pages that remain relate to the families who returned to Pitcairn, and have been visited by Captain Montresor, R.N., and others; also by Sir Wentworth Dilke.

Extract of a letter from CAPTAIN MONTRESOR, *dated H.M.S. Calypso, at Sea, lat.* 27° 13′ *S., long.* 130° 26′ *W., October 7th*, 1860.

"We arrived at Pitcairn Island at 0 35 P.M. of the 5th instant, and shortening all sail, from royals and studding-sails to top-sails and jib, as we rounded the point which brought us in sight of the landing-place, we stood in under easy sail and hove to, for the purpose of giving the islanders an opportunity of boarding us; but it was not till 2 30 P.M. that two little canoes, each paddled by one man only, came off. These two men proved to be William Mayhew Young and Moses Young, cousins, aged thirty-three and thirty, and from them the following information was obtained:

"Of the original islanders who had returned, and who, with one infant born since their return, form at present the whole population of the island, there are two families, a list of whose names is inclosed, the heads of which are William and Moses Young. William Young's wife, the oldest person on the island, being thirty-nine years of age, was the widow of Philip M'Koy, and her family by her first husband now form part of the family of William Young. All the rest of the children, except the two eldest M'Koys, are quite young, and mostly females, the proportion of the thirteen children being ten girls to three boys.

"I questioned the men upon their reason for leaving the island, and they both said it was principally on account of the health of their wives, with whom the climate of Norfolk Island did not agree, and also that they felt a

strong desire to revisit their native country. These were the only reasons alleged to me; but to the officers, with whom they were more confidential, they admitted that they did not consider Norfolk Island as their own—that no one could be kinder than the Governor of New South Wales, of whom they spoke with great respect, but that a school-master and a miller had been placed among them, who were not of them, the school-master having charge of the sheep on the island, which they had been led to believe would have been their own property; and that some sappers and miners, with their wives and families, had also been quartered on the island; that their own magistrates, formerly only responsible to the people themselves, were now held responsible by Government for the performance of certain obligations by the people; and that altogether they found it was so different from the life of freedom and irresponsibility, to all but themselves and their elected magistrates, they had led at Pitcairn, that they had a longing to be back to the island, where nobody could interfere with them, however good and kind the intention, and however necessary, perhaps, the interference. All this was said not in the tones of complaint against the authorities, but rather in self-exculpation of what might be deemed their fickleness of mind; and whatever justice there may be in these arguments, the first and great reason for their return, and which could not veil itself from our observation, was evidently the longing for the land of their birth, the land where their forefathers were buried. Moses Young exclaimed as we went on shore, pointing to the English ensign they had hoisted, 'Ah! there's the flag I shall be buried under;' and William Young told the senior lieutenant that no one belonging to him should ever leave the island again if he could help it.

"The present inhabitants of Pitcairn left Norfolk Island on the 28th of November, 1858, in the Mary Ann, English trader, which they hired to take them over. The governor (Sir William Denison) was aware, they said, of their intention, and had given his permission; and Mr. Nobbs,

though sorry to part with his relative, the wife of William Young, had also sanctioned and advised their return.

"In the literally infant state of this colony they have as yet no recognized laws and no magistrate; but it is the intention of the heads of the two families, as their children grow up, to establish the same rules which have been handed down to them from the time of old John Adams. Mr. Arthy (the chaplain) questioned both the men and women as to their observance of religious duties, and ascertained that the children had been baptized when born, and that they had church service morning and evening on Sundays, besides daily morning and evening family prayer.

"The island had been perfectly healthy ever since their return, one death only having occurred, that of an infant seven days old, the child of William Young.

"Having ascertained that the landing was perfectly practicable, I landed in the cutter, accompanied by the second lieutenant, the chaplain, and Moses Young. We landed at high-tide in Bounty Bay, and though there was a good breeze from the south-east, we had no difficulty whatever in reaching shore quite dry. The island has been so well described, and will be so familiar to the mind, that it will be unnecessary to repeat any description of its beauty.

"We found, after clambering up the ascent, that the church and school-room were sadly dilapidated, and the whole of the houses were unroofed, except the two which the two families had taken possession of. This had been done, and the material, planks and nails, used for building a boat (which boat I saw at Tahiti), by some men who had been shipwrecked at Pitcairn during the absence of its inhabitants.

"The houses we went into were neat and clean, resembling in the interior the cabin of a merchant-ship, with a row of six bunks on one side.

"We found the farms well stocked with a quantity of breeding sows and fattening hogs (all well-bred animals),

goats, and poultry, having the appearance of the farm of a thriving tenant-farmer in England. The island, moreover, we were told, abounded in wild goats and poultry, and that wild cattle, from the original stock presented by Admiral Moresby, had increased so greatly and had become so fierce that they were obliged to kill them off, and had shot six-and-twenty since their return.

"One whaler had visited the island a few months since, and had been supplied with stock and water. I asked, in case of crops failing, what they would live on? They seemed to be amused at the question, and said, unless they chose, there would be no absolute necessity for their having crops at all; that bread-fruit, taro, and peas grew wild and in abundance, and that, independent of the cattle, there were wild goats and poultry enough to supply them with flesh and fowl for years.

"In conclusion, I have to remark that the men appeared to be sensible, hard-working, steady, good men (neither of them when on board would touch any thing but water); the women modest, pleasing, and homely in their manners; and the children neither shy nor bold, and all appeared healthy. I have no misgiving but that, under God's providence, Pitcairn, with the nucleus of inhabitants it now possesses—fewer far than those who first landed there from the Bounty—will in time have again to throw off its swarm; the only fear which presents itself being as to what is to become of these women and helpless children if any thing should happen to the two men. And again, when these ten girls are grown up, with only three boys and perhaps two old men to protect them, what might be the consequence of the godless crew of a whaler landing on the island?

"We were told by both men and women that they were in almost certain expectation of being joined by five other families from Norfolk Island; and, for the reasons given, and on account of the very great disparity of numbers in the two sexes, it is to be hoped more *will* return; and for my part, having now seen their island home, I have no

doubt in my own mind that the love of the native soil will induce more to revisit it.

"As I shook hands with the women in parting, I asked if they were really glad they had returned, to which they both replied, 'Oh yes, indeed!' with an unmistakable earnestness as to their happiness in being again at home.

"The evening was now drawing in, and I was anxious to get the Youngs on shore, and to take my own departure before it was quite dark. I returned to the ship, having previously deposited with our island friends, who were gratefully anxious to make us some return, sundry carpenters' tools, shot, powder, yards of calico, needles, thread, locks, hinges, screws, etc., together with slates and pencils, writing-paper, and a number of books, a large box of what were considered necessaries having been made up between myself and the officers. The cutter having been hoisted up, and the canoes having taken their departure, sail was made on the ship, and we stood off from the land and proceeded in the prosecution of our voyage to Valparaiso."

Population of Pitcairn Island on the Calypso's visit in October, 1861.

		Years.	Months.
William Mayhew Young	aged	33	
Margaret (late M'Koy)	"	39	
Elizabeth Maude	"	1	11

The following are Margaret's children by former husband.

		Years.	Months.
Sarah M'Koy	aged	17	
James Russell	"	15	
Harriet Malicia	"	13	
Alice Sophia	"	10	
Mary Anne	"	9	
Rebecca Holman	"	8	
Moses Young (cousin to William Mayhew)	"	30	
Albini	"	31	
Elizabeth	"	12	
Charles Vider	"	10	
Sarah Grace	"	5	
Jane Unez / Mercy Amelia (twins)	"	2	6
Mathew Richard	"	0	1

A later visit to Pitcairn Island is that recorded by Sir Wentworth Dilke in "Greater Britain," published 1869:

"After traversing lonely and hitherto unknown seas, and looking in vain for a new guano island, on the sixteenth day we worked out the ship's position at noon with more than usual care, if that were possible, and found that in four hours we ought to be at Pitcairn Island. At half-past two o'clock land was sighted right ahead, and by four o'clock we were in the bay, such as it is, at Pitcairn. Although at sea there was a calm, the ground-swell beat heavily upon the shore, and we were fain to content ourselves with the view of the island from our decks. It consists of a single volcanic peak, hung with an arras of green creeping plants, passion-flowers, and trumpet-vines. As for the people, they came off to us dancing over the seas in their canoes, and bringing us green oranges and bananas, while a huge union-jack was run up on their flag-staff by those who remained on shore.

"As the first man came on deck he rushed to the captain, and shaking hands violently, cried in pure English entirely free from accent, 'How do you do, captain? How's Victoria?' There was no disrespect in the omission of the title 'Queen;' the question seemed to come from the heart. The bright-eyed lads, Adams and Young, descendants of the Bounty mutineers, who had been the first to climb our sides, announced the coming of Moses Young, the 'magistrate' of the isle, who presently boarded us in state. He was a grave and gentlemanly man, English in appearance, but somewhat slightly built, as were, indeed, the lads. The magistrate came off to lay before the captain the facts relating to a feud which exists between two parties of the islanders, and upon which they require arbitration. A widow, who returned with the others, claims a third of the whole island as having been the property of her late husband, and is supported in her demand by half the islanders, while Moses Young and the remainder of the people admit the facts, but as-

sert that the desertion of the island was complete, and operated as an entire abandonment of titles, which the re-occupation can not revive. The success of the woman's claim, they say, would be the destruction of the prosperity of Pitcairn.

"When we had drawn up a case to be submitted to Sir John Young, our captain made a commercial treaty with the magistrate, who agreed to supply the ships of the new line, whenever daylight allowed them to call at Pitcairn, with oranges, bananas, ducks, and fowls, for which he was to receive cloth and tobacco in exchange, tobacco being the money of the Polynesian archipelago.

"Mr. Young told us that his people had thirty sheep, which were owned by each of the families in turn, the household taking care of them and receiving the profits for one year. Water, he said, sometimes fell short in the island, but they then make use of the juice of the green cocoa-nut. Their school is excellent; all the children can read and write; and in the election of magistrates they have female suffrage.

"When we went on deck again to talk to the young men, Adams asked us a new question: 'Have you a "Sunday at Home," or a "British Workman?"' What was the answer? 'No!' Our books and papers having been ransacked, Moses Young prepared to leave the ship, taking with him presents from the stores. Besides the cloth, tobacco, hats, and linen, there was a bottle of brandy given for medicine, as the islanders are strict teetotallers. While Young held the bottle in his hand, afraid to trust the lads with it, Adams read the label, and cried out, 'Brandy! How much for a dose? . . . Oh yes, all right; I know: it's good for the women.' When they at last left the ship's side, one of the canoes was filled with a crinoline and blue silk dress for Mrs. Young, and another with a red and brown tartan for Mrs. Adams, both given by Lady Massenger, while the lads went ashore in dress-coats and smoking-caps.

"Now that the French, with their singular habit of

everywhere annexing countries which other colonizing nations have rejected, are rapidly occupying all the Polynesian groups, except the only ones that are of value, namely, the Sandwich Islands and New Zealand, Pitcairn becomes of some importance as a solitary British post on the very border of the French dominions; and it has for us the stronger claim to notice, which is raised by the fact that it has figured for the last few years on the wrong side of our British budget.

"As we stood out from the bay into the lonely seas, the island peak showed a black outline against a pale-green sky; but in the west the heavy clouds that in the Pacific never fail to cumber the horizon, were glowing with a crimson cast by the now set sun, and the dancing wavelets were tinted with reflected hues."

The latest letter from Pitcairn is to Admiral Sir Fairfax Moresby, G.C.B., from John Buffett. He went to pay a visit to his daughter, Mrs. Young, who had returned there with her husband and family, and had been a year in Pitcairn, unable to find a ship to convey him to Auckland in order to return to Norfolk Island. This letter, which contains the following extract, is dated Pitcairn Island, July 27th, 1869:

"The last merchant-ship touched here last August, and a whaler last February, so that they are very short of clothing, and will, I suppose, have to go back to native cloth; in fact, several ladies wear the native skirt now. Mr. Simon Young is school-master and pastor, and attends well to those duties. He also teaches singing without any remuneration. We ought to be very thankful that we are blessed with health, as we have no medicine on the island; meat is scarce, so are fish. We have some sheep and goats, no cattle; and the hogs are diseased. There has been a failure with the yam crops, so that our principal food is sweet-potatoes and plantains. Oranges are plentiful, and bananas, pine-apples, etc., so that we make

out pretty well in the eating line. Moses Young is magistrate this year, but there are not many law cases. Most of them would rather be on Norfolk Island than here."

With this notice of the re-colonization and present state of Pitcairn Island our narrative ends.

We have traced the history of the little community through a period of eighty-three years, from its first origin in tyranny and crime, through a chain of strange and tragical events, to its final settlement in peace and prosperity. A few of the families who composed it have separated from their brethren, and returned to their "Rock in the West;" but the traditions of Pitcairn and of the colony in Norfolk Island are the same; and the early training of John Adams laid the foundation of such Christian principles among them, that the errors and crimes of "The Mutineers of the Bounty" are forgotten in the exemplary conduct of their descendants.

APPENDIX A.

We have already alluded* to the following letter, written at the request of Rear-admiral Moresby, and relating the sixteen years of Mr. Nobbs's history, previous to his arrival at Pitcairn. Although very interesting, it has no bearing on the affairs of the islanders, and is therefore placed in the Appendix. The letter runs as follows:

To Rear-admiral Fairfax Moresby, G.C.B.

"H.M.S. Portland, at Sea, May, 1853.

"My Honorable and Benevolent Friend,—In accordance with your expressed desire that I should furnish you with the data of sixteen years of my somewhat eventful life, I submit for your perusal the following superficial, but, as far as memory serves, correct, account of my whereabouts from 1812 to October, 1828.

"November, 1811, I entered the navy, by being placed on the books of H.M.S. Roebuck, through the interest of Rear-admiral Murray. Transferred first to the Chanticleer, then to the Snipe—where I remained until the news of the loss of the Hero in the North Sea—I was then for certain reasons withdrawn from the service; but in 1813 Admiral Murray placed me on board the Indefatigable, a naval store-ship, commanded by a master in the navy named Bowles, and I went in her under the convoy of the Duncan to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. From New South Wales we had orders to proceed by Bass's Straits to the Cape of Good Hope, but after a vain attempt to beat through the Straits we took a fresh departure from New South Wales, shaped our course for Cape Horn, and from thence across to the Cape of Good Hope, thence to St. Helena, and ultimately to England. I now left the navy, and after residing at home a few months, received a letter from my old commander, offering to procure me a berth on board a ship of eighteen guns, design-

* Page 238.

ed for the use of the patriots in South America. I accepted the offer, and left England early in 1816 for Valparaiso; but we were prevented entering, from the circumstance of the royalists having regained possession of that place. We accordingly commenced cruising along the coast in search of prizes, although I am not quite certain that our liberal commission had the signature of any patriot chieftain except Artigos, a Buenos Ayrean leader of some note at that period. Our cruise, which extended over sixteen months, was very successful; but having no port to take our prizes into, we were obliged to destroy them, so that our emoluments were not great. During this cruise, while in charge of a prize, I was captured by a Spanish Guarda Costa, and carried into Callao. Oh, what rejoicing was there! The insurgents, doubly ironed, and guarded by nearly a hundred soldiers, were exposed to the gaze and insult of some thousands, who kept holiday on the occasion. Walking about Callao streets for months with fifty pounds' weight of iron attached to one's person, and a spare diet of beans and Chili peppers, with a stone for a pillow at night, was far from being an agreeable situation. However, custom reconciled us in some degree, and after losing some five or six of our party of seventeen by fever and exposure to the sun while carrying stones to repair the forts, our guardians became more remiss, we got rid of our irons by degrees, and ultimately were left to shift for ourselves, procure food when and where we could, and roam about the town almost unnoticed, sometimes feasting, but more often fasting. Several weeks passed away, when a sailing vessel, called the Flying-fish, of New Bedford, anchored in Callao Bay. As I was under no surveillance, I introduced myself to Captain Fisk, her commander, whom I had frequently fallen in with previous to my capture. He immediately agreed to secrete me if I could get on board his ship, and as many of my crew as could make their escape; and moreover, as he was going to the Galapagos Islands, which was the appointed rendezvous of our ship, he would convey us thither on condition of receiving one hundred dollars for each person taken on board, to be paid on falling in with our ship. Eight of us made our escape, and four days after we ran into Tumbey, where our ship was lying. No doubt our American benefactor was aware of this when he received us on board. After cruising along the coast of Peru for some months, with various success, we went off to the Galapagos Islands, where we remained seven or eight weeks, and then resumed our cruising between those islands and Panama.

"In the latter part of 1817 we entered Valparaiso, and were well received by the authorities, who professed themselves staunch patriots. I

had now an opportunity of forwarding seven hundred dollars to my poor mother, who much needed them. The name of our ship was now changed, by order of the Chilian Government, from Santa Rosa to El Libertador, and fitted out for a two years' cruise off Manilla, with very indifferent success, much sickness, and more privation. We remained along the Eastern Archipelago for eighteen months, and then returned poorer than when we started. Being somewhat embarrassed in pecuniary matters, and times very dull in Valparaiso, I united with thirty-five others in what appeared a desperate and foolish undertaking—no less than going in an open launch to Arica, and attempt the cutting out of a large merchant-ship from Cadiz, named La Minerva. Such a forlorn hope did the undertaking appear, that the landlord of the house where I boarded, and to whom I was indebted a considerable sum, offered to board me for six months gratis if I abandoned the enterprise. But go I did, and this was the result of the adventure: On Monday, but what day of the month of August, 1818, I can not remember, we left Valparaiso in an open launch commissioned by the supreme director of Chili, commanded by Captain James, seconded by a Lieutenant Mackay, the other thirty-three being of equal rank as far as prize-money was concerned. On the following Monday at dusk we entered Arica, brought the vessel out without much fighting, and the following Monday, that is, fifteen days from our departure from Valparaiso, we returned to that port, to the surprise of the Government and the joy of our creditors, having honorably exchanged our launch for a fine ship of seven hundred tons, nearly full of valuable cargo intended for Callao. My share of the prize was two thousand dollars, and many who reprobated our undertaking at the commencement were now loud in their commendation. Captain O'Brien, of H.M. sloop-of-war Slaney, kindly took charge of one thousand dollars for my mother, which she received in due time without any deduction (honor to his memory!).

"In February, 1819, I took the situation of prize-master on board a forty-gun ship, under Buenos Ayrean colors, named La Consequencia, commanded by Captain Bouchard, a Frenchman. For English officers or seamen to be under a French commander is a bad arrangement, and I have no doubt several prizes were lost from this very circumstance. Our captain was a brave man, but no sailor, and there was a want of confidence in him. We, however, captured three or four valuable prizes, but I forfeited my part by taking French leave at Tumbey, where I nearly lost my life from hardships encountered in the woods while attempting to discover a road to Guayaquil; fortunately, I did not succeed, or in all probability I should have been shot as an insurgent. I retraced my way back

to the sea-coast, and got on board an English whaler, called the Sydney Packet. Captain Emmert treated me with much kindness, and after remaining some months on board I landed at Talcahuans April 20th, 1820. May 7th, at midnight, Talcahuans was attacked by Benevedes and his Indian troops. The Chilian garrison, fifteen in number, were put to the sword, a number of the inhabitants killed and wounded, the town sacked, and a large number of prisoners, myself included, carried off. The next morning the troops from Concepcion came in pursuit of us, and overtook us as we were crossing a river; a few of Benevedes's soldiers were killed, and the prisoners and much of the plunder recaptured. Soon after this affair I returned to Valparaiso, and engaged as first officer of the Minerva, the ship I had assisted in cutting out at Arica, she being hired by the Chilian Government as a transport for carrying a part of San Martin's liberating army to Peru. We left Valparaiso in August, 1820, and after some delays ultimately landed our troops at Huatcho. On the 5th of November I took a part in the cutting out of the Spanish frigate Esmeraldas from under Callao batteries. This gallant achievement was planned and headed by Lord Cochrane, of whose valor and skill it is unnecessary for me to say any thing. On the return of the Minerva to Valparaiso I carried with me a letter of commendation for my conduct in the Esmeraldas affair, from Lord Cochrane to General Cruy, the Governor of Valparaiso. I was in consequence appointed to the Chilian sloop-of-war Chavabrios, and in a short time received a lieutenant's commission. In September, 1821, two launches, one of which I commanded, were dispatched from our ship in the night to cut out an armed brig, and after a severe conflict and the loss of several men we succeeded in capturing her. This affair took place at the back of the Island of St. Mary. All I got for this affair, besides a little praise, was a pair of epaulettes from a boxful found in the captain's cabin. Shortly after this I was ordered up a river near the town of Arico, to endeavor to recover a quantity of property belonging to British and American merchants, and which, with the vessel containing it, had been most audaciously seized by the treacherous miscreant, Benevedes. After ascending the river as far as I deemed prudent, and finding nothing of consequence, I gave orders to turn round and pull back again. We had just commenced our retrograde movement, impelled by a strong tide, and the boat's crew had just gone aft to splice the main brace, when crash went half a hundred muskets; one of our boat's crew was killed, and two or three wounded. So long as we proceeded up the river we were unmolested, but directly we attempted going back, the enemy, from behind the high banks of the river, commenced

a murderous fire. We had a twelve-pound carronade in the launch, but the enemy were enabled to screen themselves so effectually behind the banks that neither gun nor musket had any effect; there was nothing to do but to pull for it, a strong tide being in our favor; but the enemy, being on horseback, headed us, and kept constantly pouring volleys of musketry into us, without the possibility of return. At length, just before reaching the last bend of the river, a dozen or two of the enemy showed themselves on the bank, a short distance astern of us. We gave them the big gun, and probably killed several of them; but we found to our cost this was a stratagem to induce us to discharge our carronade, for the moment after, a large boat filled with soldiers, hitherto concealed by the bend of the river, clapped alongside of us, and in our wretched state—forty-eight killed and wounded out of sixty-four—soon overpowered us. I received a blow on the back of my neck from the butt-end of a musket, which sent me stumbling forward at a great rate: from the effects of that blow I am suffering most severely at times. All the dead bodies, and such as could not walk from the severity of their wounds, were without hesitation thrown into the river. The remainder were landed and stripped of their clothing, and a rag of some sort or other given in exchange. As for myself, I was quickly divested of my uniform, and an old pair of trowsers cut off at the knees, with a worn-out poncho and an old Spanish sombrero, were given in return. We were then marched off to prison, where we remained three weeks. Every Chilian of our party was shot, and myself and three Europeans exchanged for four of Benevedes's officers, after much entreaty on his part, one of them—a major—being his wife's brother. Soon after this I returned to Valparaiso, and found a letter from my mother urging my return home. I consequently quitted the Chilian navy, and went home a passenger in the Elizabeth, of London. My mother's death took place soon after.

"In October, 1822, I was sent to Naples, and on my passage from that city to Messina, in a Neapolitan vessel, she foundered off the Lipari Islands, and, with the loss of every thing, we proceeded to Messina in the boats. In May, 1823, I returned to London in the Crescent, commanded by William Pitt, a navy lieutenant. In October I went to Sierra Leone, as chief mate to a ship called the Gambia. Of nineteen persons who went out in that vessel, the captain, myself, and two colored men lived to return. In June, 1824, I went to Sierra Leone, commander of the same ship, and was six weeks on shore sick with the fever; however, it pleased God to restore my health in time to return with my ship, but I resigned my command on my return. I now collected what little property I had, re-

solving to leave England forever. Pitcairn Island was the spot I had in view for my future residence. The Circassian, a country ship, was bound for Calcutta; her captain, an old acquaintance, offered me a passage. I went on board, and left England on the 12th of November, 1825. After a tedious passage we arrived at Diamond Harbor, in May, 1826. I remained in Calcutta till August, 1827, when I took passage in a New York ship, called the Ocean, for Valparaiso, by way of Singapore, Rio, and other places thereabout. In November we arrived at Valparaiso, from thence to Callao, and after much detention and expense I left Callao for Pitcairn Island, in a cutter of eighteen tons' burden, with one other person besides myself composing her crew. In six weeks we arrived at Pitcairn, met with a good reception, and up to the present day I have never regretted the determination I formed on the demise of my beloved parent.

"With the details of the last twenty-five years you are intimately acquainted, and to you, my honored and venerated benefactor, I owe my present enviable situation, and from you and yours I have received more substantial favors, pecuniary and influential, within the last twelve months, than I ever received in all my life. That Almighty God may return them to you a thousand-fold is the humble but sincere prayer of your grateful servant,

GEORGE H. NOBBS,

"*Chaplain of Pitcairn.*"

The Pitcairn girls were in the habit of writing to their naval friends in England as a proof that they did not forget their kindness, nor the pleasure their visits had afforded them. So little varied was the even tenor of their lives, so few merchant vessels touched at Norfolk Island, that they were not likely to forget the former pleasant days spent at Pitcairn.

The following letter is selected as a good specimen of their style of correspondence, and proves that Susan Nobbs was satisfied with her new home in Norfolk Island.

SUSAN NOBBS, *Daughter-in-law of the Pastor, to* VICE-ADMIRAL SIR FAIRFAX MORESBY, G.C.B.

"Norfolk Island, September 24th, 1857.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I can not express my joy on receiving the kind letter you sent me by the Iris, and I heartily thank you for the scolding you gave me, and I only wish it was from your own dear lips. It gives us all

great pleasure to hear that you are quite well. God grant that you may long continue to enjoy health and happiness. We are so happy to hear that our old friend, Fortescue Moresby, is on board the Iris, and we are so anxious to see him; the girls are almost wild with joy. As soon as the ship was reported to be in sight, the girls said they hoped Fortescue Moresby was on board, little thinking that their wish would be realized. And now I must tell you about our new home. You must have heard of our safe arrival. When we first came on shore every thing looked so strange to us, but it did not last long. Some of our people like Pitcairn best, but I think Norfolk Island is much better. We have such beautiful houses and gardens, which give lots of employment to keep them clean, and we have milked the cows and make butter. Our men are employed in the field, and I assure you they have enough to do. Norfolk Island is a much healthier climate than Pitcairn, although it is colder. We do not go so thinly clad as formerly, and I believe we are improving in every thing; in fact, we are having every thing after the English fashion. It is a great advantage for us to be so near the colonies, for we can easily get what we want.

"I must not forget to tell you about my own family. My first little baby survived but a few hours, and then took its flight to a better world. And now I have two dear little girls, one called Kathleen Laura; the other, who was the first born on Norfolk Island, was called Eliza Louisa, after Lady Moresby. Your friend Esther Quintal is always talking about you; she is quite well. There are lots of children born here. Please tell Mary White that I am so thankful for her kind present, and I hope Mr. and Mrs. White are quite well and happy. The report you heard about our young men going to Sydney for wives is false, for there are many already engaged, and they are still preferring their countrywomen; and I expect when next I write to you I shall have the pleasure of saying that Ann Nobbs has changed her name to Mrs. Quintal, for she is already engaged to my brother."

The next letter, written by Dorcas Young, is a valuable and affectionate tribute of respect to the character of their pastor, some unworthy person in England having spoken injuriously of him.

DORCAS YOUNG *to* VICE-ADMIRAL SIR FAIRFAX MORESBY, G.C.B.

"October 13th, 1857.

"MY VERY DEAR ADMIRAL,—Dear good little Forty has again come to see us. Glad, glad, truly glad to see him were all of our people, not

only for his own dear self, but for that of his (and ours too) dear good father, Admiral Moresby.

"Old times, and old associations and recollections, came vividly to my mind, and I did, in a measure, live over again a few of those happy hours spent at dear little Pitcairn. If you could only fancy to yourself a road some three and a half miles in length, with only two solitary persons upon it at first, and then one, and another, and another, and so on until half the population was hanging around, kissing and shaking hands, and expressing their joy in a thousand different ways, you may form some idea of Forty and his retinue, from his landing at the back of the island to the settlement. The delight at meeting was mutual. We were delighted, and so was Forty; but he had the worst of it—he saw and can learn for himself how all his Pitcairn friends are; but we, poor things, had to press him with a thousand and one questions concerning our very dear friends of the Portland. He was, I am sure, bewildered with the showers of anxious questions heaped upon him, and by the time he went to bed his patience must have been severely taxed.

"There was only one circumstance calculated to throw a shade over this happy meeting, and that is the circulation of certain scandalous and most unchristian reports in England concerning our worthy pastor. There must certainly be persons in existence of whose natures we have never dreamed. Always uniformly kind, not only to our people, but to all strangers visiting us—the meanest as well as the greatest—he is willing and ready to give his advice whenever asked for, helping and endeavoring to promote the welfare of the community in every thing, and doing all in his power to promote the happiness of all around him. It does seem strange to us that such a person should, above all others, be fixed upon for the dart of slander. I have seen him leave his comfortable bed in his own house, and through the rain and the mud go to watch over the sick, to administer relief both bodily and mentally night after night and day after day, until their eyes are either closed in death or they are restored to health.

"You must not understand me, my dear admiral, to mean that he is perfect in every thing. No, we have all our weak points in common with the rest of mankind. The fruits of Adam's fall are here visible too. Natural inborn sin is here, as well as in other parts of this wide world, too plainly developed; but I hope and pray that, led on and favored with so many of this world's goods, we may strive more earnestly to walk in the ways of Him from whom cometh all things.

"Believe me, my dear admiral, when I tell you that we are alive to our

faults; we know that we are far short of what we ought to be; we know, too, that we must be strengthened and renewed day by day with more light and wisdom from on high, or else we must be and are utterly undone.

"We have been encouraged and cheered on in the path of duty by the approving smiles of some few friends, who have so very kindly interested themselves in our welfare as to bring us from the threshold of heathenism into the broad beams of Gospel light. Foremost among these never-to-be-forgotten friends stands Vice-admiral Sir Fairfax Moresby. Yes, my dear good admiral, as long as the heart of a Pitcairner beats in his bosom you will be remembered and cherished there.

"Forty has been busy all day taking photographs of our people. He will doubtless send you many, if not all of them. I suppose you will recognize your old Pitcairn friends, all of whom still recollect the visit of the Portland as if it was a thing of yesterday's occurrence. Happy times! we love to think and to speak of it. Do you still think of us at times? Yes, I fancy you must think of us, for I assure you we seldom find any amusement that will afford us so much solid gratification as talking of the dear old Portland.

"I hope, my dear admiral, you will not suffer the reports I allude to to disturb your peace of mind. I know they must materially affect you, but allow me to say that if you only knew how very little truth is contained in them you would not for a moment heed them.

"Please to give my kindest love and regards to all inquiring friends, and believe me, my dear admiral,

"Yours ever truly and affectionately, DORCAS YOUNG."

APPENDIX B.

MR. NOBBS, in a letter to Admiral Sir Fairfax Moresby, gives the following account of the Gambier Islands:

"MY HONORED FRIEND,—It was in the year 1834 that I first went to the Gambier Islands, in the bark Pomarre, of Tahiti, Thomas Ebriell commander. The first thing you observe in the distance is Mount Duff, situated on the principal island (Mangariva), and which may be seen on a clear day fifty miles distant. The next object most likely to draw your attention is a long and dangerous reef at the north end of the barrier.

This long reef extends several miles from the barrier, or circular reef, which surrounds the islands, they consisting of four inhabited and several other smaller ones. Their names, in the order of size, are Mangariva, Akamarn, Terawai, and Arkana. The natives I found most hospitable and docile, myself and family dwelling among them for the space of nine months in perfect peace and serenity. Animals fit for food they had none. The bread-fruit in its natural state during the season, and for the remainder of the year in an acetous state, constitutes their daily food, with the addition of fish occasionally, which they take in nets. The French have nominal possession of these islands; here they first commenced their insidious and unchristian usurpation in these seas. A few months after my having taken up my abode among these simple and singular people, an American schooner, named Peruvian, arrived there from Valparaiso, having on board two French priests, and an Irishman named Murphy, who was the superintendent of their secular affairs. The schooner was bound to Tahiti, and her calling at the Gambier Islands was quite accidental; but the captain, hearing I was living there very comfortably, and, I suppose, wishing to get rid of his passengers, persuaded them to take up their residence there also. Accordingly, they came to my place of abode to inquire if I had any objection to their remaining, our mutual object—they were pleased to say—being to humanize the natives; and moreover would I use my influence with the king, or some one of the chiefs, in order to their obtaining a commodious dwelling. Not considering myself justified in procuring their expulsion (which I could easily have done), I told them the large island was altogether under my care, and that they must not interfere with my arrangements (I had then, by and with the consent of the chiefs and people, commenced *idol-burning*); but that, if they would be content to reside upon one of the smaller islands I would see them properly cared for. To this they readily acceded, and selected the Island of Arkana, where the natives provided them with a comfortable house.

"There they dwelt during the time I remained at Mangariva, nor did they trouble or interfere with me in any way, merely coming once a month, in full canonicals, to pay me a visit ostensibly, though from the circumstance of their always making a tour of the islands before they returned home, I presume that to 'spy out the land' was their chief object. However, they gave me no occasion of offense, for they easily saw that my influence with the chiefs was too firm for them to undermine; but the moment I left for Pitcairn they wrote to Valparaiso for a French ship-of-war to visit them, and on her arrival declared the place a French colony,

hoisted the tri-color flag, and commenced building a convent. I am not aware the islands have ever been garrisoned or fortified by the French.

"The natives, when I went among them twenty years ago, though confirmed idolaters, were singularly temperate, peaceable, and hospitable, which, if recent accounts are true, is not the case at present. Another most honorable trait in their character, and one most worthy of record, is that the women enjoyed equal rights with the men; there is no distinction of inferiority. They take their meals together, and in the evening may be seen assembled on the stone platform in front of the houses, father, mother, and children in one indiscriminate group. Now this can not be said of any other island in these seas, while it remained in its primitive state. In my evening walks I have often been reminded of more civilized countries, from the circumstance of hearing women soundly rating their husbands; yet the females in general are very unlovely in their appearance, and the men go without a vestige of clothing.

"There is a small lagoon sand-bank, called Crescent Island, some forty or fifty miles from Gambier, which I believe may be distinguished, by the help of a telescope, from the summit of Mount Duff. At all events, Mount Duff is plainly discernible from this dangerous sand-bank.

"Captain Ebriell, being desirous of ascertaining whether pearl oysters might be obtained there, invited me to accompany him in the search. We accordingly started, working the vessel out through the south-east passage. On our arrival at the Crescent, it was with much difficulty and danger we effected a landing, when to our surprise we found about forty persons, meagre and wretched in appearance, inhabiting it—not tattooed as is the case with the Gambier Islanders. The men approached us fearlessly, but the women kept at some distance. By the help of a Gambier islander, as interpreter, we learned that, fifty or sixty years previous, their progenitors were forced to quit Mangariva on a raft, and that after having been some time at sea they succeeded in landing here. The refugees had all died long since, the people we found there being their offspring. They seemed quite satisfied with their lot, although the only articles of food they could obtain were squid, and small fish taken in the holes of the coral reef, and the kernels of the nut of the pandanus or screw-palm, which is the only tree or vegetable growing on their sand-bank. On our return to Mangariva we related this to the chiefs and others, who came to the determination to go and bring them to the land of their fathers. Having no conveyance of their own, they hired a large boat belonging to Captain Ebriell (who sent with them his mate and some seamen to assist them). Accordingly, they were all brought to Mangariva, and landed

close to my house, where nearly all the people of the island assembled to welcome and visit them, and so plied them with bread-fruit that one actually died from repletion, and several others would have shared the same fate if I had not dosed them with emetics and cathartics. What became of them after I left I never heard, but was told that most of them pined for their coral home.

"With sentiments of respect, permit me to subscribe myself your much obliged and very humble servant,

"George H. Nobbs.

"Admiral Sir Fairfax Moresby, G.C.B."

Captain Morshead visited the Gambier Islands nearly twenty years subsequent to the period of Mr. Nobbs's residence there. He gives the following description of them, and of the increase of French influence:

"H.M.S. Dido, Valparaiso, December 15th, 1853.

"Not having seen any notice of these islands since 1826, I do not consider they have any natural advantages as a watering-place at present; but as water is abundant, reservoirs and tanks might easily be constructed should they ever become a rendezvous. I found the French protectorate flag flying on shore and five French families, but no one in any official capacity. There are three Romish priests on the island, Father Cyprian being at their head, who holds the king and natives in the most perfect subjection, both temporal and spiritual. There are several stone-built houses on the island, and a handsome Romish church two hundred feet long, with a double row of columns inside, and capable of containing a thousand persons. The altar is chaste and beautiful, formed of mother-of-pearl. Upon the hill on the south side of Mount Duff is a cemetery, and a convent containing one hundred nuns and sixty children, whose interval between prayer and penance is filled up by trundling a distaff, and spinning native cotton to supply a factory with a dozen hand-looms at work. With respect to supplies, mountain sheep, goats, hogs, fowls, and fish can be procured. Most of the tropical vegetables grow, tara and pumpkin being principally cultivated; but onions, leeks, carrots, spinach, lettuces and cabbage, with a few European potatoes, are cultivated by the French families. Of fruits, cocoa-nuts, bananas, bread-fruit, and pine-apples are abundant, and very fine oranges and limes are scarce; the paupau apple and fig are also there. Wood for building and firing is scarce and bad, the bread-fruit timber being principally used.

"The islands produce annually about four hundred tons of pearl-shells, and pearls about equal in value to the shells. Nearly every native had a few pearls concealed about his person, and rather over-estimate their value. There were several large collections in the islands, and some very indifferent, but a few in the possession of the king were magnificent. The population is now a little over two thousand, an epidemic having lately (according to Father Cyprian) swept off several hundreds. The natives are rather a good specimen of the Kanaka (Polynesian) race—tractable, hard-working, and expert boatmen. They were all well dressed, and clothes, cutlery, tobacco, and soap were sought after, and readily taken in exchange for supplies. The king having expressed a desire to see the ship, I received him with manned yards and a salute, at which he was delighted; but no flag was hoisted, not being aware that the French protectorate is either claimed or *acknowledged*. His majesty was accompanied by the priests, and is a fine-looking man about the middle age, and was dressed in plain European costume. He has a mild intelligent countenance, and I have no doubt would govern his subjects and develop the resources of his islands equally well without the assistance of the priests, but, in justice to those reverend gentlemen, I must avow I found them exceedingly useful."

THE END.

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